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IN THE
GEOGRAPHY
OF
ANCIENT
&
MEDIEVAL
INDIA

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'more than one thousand' and of the expression 'after having conquered the whole earth' in the second *gāthā*.

In connection with the tradition regarding Bharata's conquest of the whole earth, attention may be drawn to the Purāṇic legends according to which the dominions of Bharata and his descendants, the Bhāratas, extended over that tract in the south of Jambudvīpa, which later came to be called Bhāratavarṣa after that monarch.¹ Again, the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) claims in the Dhauli version of his Fifth Rock Edict to have employed the Superintendents of the Religious Department, called Dharma-mahāmātra, throughout the earth (*sava-puṭhaviyaṃ*), although all the other versions of the above Rock Edict read *sarvatra vijite* (i.e. everywhere in the dominions of Aśoka) in that context.² It is interesting to note in this connection that Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I seems to refer to his empire as Jambudvīpa while he is described in Buddhist tradition as a *Dvīpa-cakravartin*, i.e. the ruler of the entire Jambudvīpa.³ As is well known, Aśoka's empire included India with the exception of Assam and certain small kingdoms to the south of Mysore but together with parts of Afghanistan, and was no doubt only a small portion of the earth. In the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., the Gupta emperors, who held sway over the major part of Northern India but succeeded in extend

1. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, ch. 73, 131; *Vāyu*, ch. 45, 76; *Viṣṇu*, II, 3, 1. There are diverse traditions regarding the origin of the name Bhāratavarṣa. According to many of the Purāṇas, it was derived from Bharata, son of Rṣabha and grandson of Nābhi who was a descendant of Vaivasvata Manu (*Bhāgavata*, XI, 2, 15 ff.; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 34, 44; etc.). In certain Purāṇic passages (*Matsya*, 114, 5; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 49, 10), however, the name Bhāratavarṣa is said to have been derived from Bharata which was just a second name of Manu himself. But the *Bhārati-prajā*, *Bhārati-santati*, etc., of the Purāṇic passages appear to refer to the Bhārata people (probably the Bharatas of the Vedic literature; cf. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 79) represented clearly as the descendants of Bharata Daśyanti in the *Mahābhārata*. Traditions, moreover, represent Bharata Daśyanti as a *cakravartin* or *sarvabhauma*, i.e. a universal monarch or emperor (*Mahābhārata*, I, 73, 129; cf. *Bhāgavata*, IX, 20, 33).

2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 24.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 50; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. *Aśoka*.

ing their political influence over parts of Sourthern India as well claimed to have either conquered or ruled over 'the whole earth'. Thus the prosperity of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.) is mentioned as *sarva-pṛthivī-vijaya-janita*;¹ them inister of Candra-gupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), who accompanied his master in the latter's campaign against the Śakas of Malwa, describes the monarch as having the aim of *kṛtsna-pṛthivī-jaya*;² Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.) is said to have ruled over the *pṛthivī* that was encircled by the four seas ;³ Skandagupta (c. 455-67 A.D.) is described as the conqueror of the whole earth (*pṛthivīm sama-grām*);⁴ and Budhagupta (c. 576-95 A.D.) is represented as the ruler of the earth.⁵

Although often the word 'earth' was used to indicate the dominions even of a petty ruler, the expression 'whole earth' was used to signify the kingdom of an imperial, or at least an independent, monarch.

2. Imperial Rulers of India and their Sphere of Influence.

The word *cakravartin* means an imperial ruler, often also called *samrāṭ* (literally 'paramount ruler'), *eka-cchatra* (literally, 'one who alone enjoys the umberella or the insignia of sovereignty'), or *sārvabhauma* which literally means 'the ruler of all land (i.e. the whole earth)' but actually indicates a paramount ruler of a territory without owing allegiance to any overlord. The literal meaning of *cakravartin* is likewise 'one rolling everywhere without obstruction' or 'a ruler, the wheels of who sechariot roll everywhere without obstruction'. Two types of this class of rulers are indicated by the words *diśām-pati*, i.e. 'the ruler of the quarters', and *dig-vijayin*, i.e. 'the conqueror of the quarters', the word *diś* being used to signify the territories lying in all the four sides of the capital or original kingdom of the monarch in question. The distinction between the *dig-vijayin*, i.e. the ruler who acquired an empire by means of conquest, and the

1. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 259.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 293.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

diśām-pati, i.e. one who inherited an empire from his forefathers is, however, not clearly maintained in literature.¹

According to the Kauṭīliya *Arthaśāstra* 'the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the sea and measures east to west a thousand *yojanas* is the *kṣetra* (i.e. the sphere of influence) of a *cakravartin* (i.e. an imperial ruler of India)'.² Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* says that a *samrāt* (practically the same as a *cakravartin*) is one who conquers the whole land from the southern sea (the Indian Ocean) to the Himavat (Himālaya).³ In the same breath, Rājaśekhara also says that the sphere of influence of a *cakravartin* is the land measuring one thousand *yojanas* and lying between Kumārīpura (Cape Comorin) and Bindusaras (in the Himālayas according to the Purāṇas) and that the conqueror of the above *kṣetra* is a *cakravartin*.⁴ Thus the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler was the Purāṇic Bhāratavarṣa which is described as lying 'between the Himālaya and the sea (*Himālayādā samudram*)' or as 'bounded in the south, west and east by the sea and in the north by the Himavat resembling the string of a bow'.⁵ This land

1. Three classes of the *cakravartin* are mentioned in Pali literature, viz. (1) *cakravāla-cakravartin*, (2) *diipa-cakravartin* and (3) *pradeśa-cakravartin*. The first is the ruler of all the four *dvīpas* or continents constituting the earth according to the Buddhists, the second of only one of the *dvīpas* and the third merely of a portion of a *dvīpa*. The classification is, however, apparently theoretical.

2. IX, 1 : देशः पृथिवी । तस्यां हिमवत्समुदान्तरमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणमतिर्यक् चक्रवर्त्तिकक्षेत्रम् ।

3. G. O. S. ed., p. 92: तत्रेदं भारतं वर्षम् । अस्य च नव भेदाः । इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुमान् ताम्रपर्णी गभस्तिमान् नागद्वीपः सौम्यो गन्धर्वो वरुणः कुमारीद्वीपश्चायं नवमः । पञ्चशतानि जलं पञ्च स्थलमिति विभागेन प्रत्येकं योजनसहस्रावधयो दक्षिणात्समुद्रादद्विराजं हिमवन्तं यावत्परस्परमगम्यास्ते । तान्येतानि यो जयति स सम्राडित्युच्यते ।

4. *Loc. cit.* : कुमारीपुरात्प्रभृति बिन्दुसरोऽवधि योजनानां दशशती चक्रवर्त्तिकक्षेत्रम् । तां विजयमानश्चक्रवर्त्ती भवति ।

5. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 77-79. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII, 59 :

दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वोण च महोदधिः ।

हिमवानुत्तरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥

Cf. *Vāyu*, XLV, 75-76 :

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवद्दक्षिणं च यत् ।

वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम यत्रायं भारती प्रजा ॥

is sometimes referred to as the country extending 'from the Himālaya to Rāma's bridge'¹ or 'from the Himālaya to the sea-shore'.² In some Purāṇic passages, e.g., in *Kūrma*, I, 35, 41, as well as records like some versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka, the same land seems to be called Jambudvīpa, although according to other popular conceptions Bhāratavarṣa was merely a part of Jambudvīpa.

That the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler did not extend beyond the limits of Bhāratavarṣa, seems to be supported by a statement of Arrian that 'a sense of justice, they say, prevented a king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India'.³

The conception of a mighty king or his generals performing *dig-vijaya*, that is to say, conquering 'the whole earth', permeates the entire body of the epic and Purāṇic literature. Epic heroes like Karna and the brothers of Yudhiṣṭhira are described as conquering the quarters or the whole earth. Karna completed his *dig-vijaya* by conquering all the countries in the north, east, south and west and is described as returned to Nāgasāhvaya (Hastināpura, capital of his patron Duryodhana) 'after having subdued the whole earth'.⁵ It is, however, interesting to note that the lists of countries lying in the four different directions and conquered by the epic *dig-vijayins* are practically the same as the lists of countries and peoples of Bhāratavarṣa as found in the geographical sections of the epics, Purāṇas and other works. Stories of the epic *dig-vijayins* were no doubt very popular in the age of the Gupta emperors. This is proved not only by the references to epic heroes in records dating from the second century A.D. but also by epigraphic and literary records of the Gupta period. Epigraphic references to the Gupta monarchs either as rulers or as conquerors of 'the whole earth' have already been indicated above. Raghu's conquest of all the quarters in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (Canto IV) of Kālidāsa who lived

1. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 1171.
2. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 205.
3. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 50.
4. M'Crinde, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 209.
5. *Mahābhārata*, III, 253, 22; cf. II, 26-32.

in the fourth-fifth century A.D. is obviously modelled on the epic description of the *dig-vijayas* of Karna, the Pāṇḍava brothers and others. Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*, IV., 85, rightly explains the conquest of quarters as indicating *ekachhatratva* or universal sovereignty. Raghu began his conquest in the eastern countries on the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal. Thence he marched towards the south and conquered the Pāṇḍya king. He moved then towards the west and subdued the Pāraśikas or Persians. Then he reached the north where he conquered the Hūṇas on the Vaṅkshu or Oxus and the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa (modern Assam, in the Himālayas). The description of Raghu's *dig-vijaya* in the *Raghuvamśa* was imitated by a *Praśastikāra* at the Paramāra court, who describes the Paramāra king Lakṣmadeva as having defeated Aṅga and Kalinga in the east, Cola and Pāṇḍya as far as the Tāmraparṇī river in the south, and the Turuṣkas on the banks of the Vaṅkshu in the north.¹ The substitution of the Hūṇas by the Turuṣkas is interesting to note. The 'whole earth' in such cases, it may be pointed out again, does not mean the entire land between the North Pole and the South Pole. It simply refers to Bhāratavarṣa regarded as the sphere of influence of an imperial monarch. But even that is also in a conventional sense.

Although the *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprised the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim of the conquest or rule over it on behalf of a historical monarch must naturally be regarded as conventional. Numerous Indian rulers are actually known to have made the claim; but, in none of the cases, the king in question can be taken as the lord of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa extending from the Himālayas to the Indian Ocean. These kings were rulers directly of only a part of India, although they conventionally claimed suzerainty over the whole of the country. Sometimes contemporary monarchs are found to make similar claims. There is, therefore, no doubt that the kings claiming conquest of or rule over the whole earth or all the quarters were merely imperial rulers as opposed to those of the subordinate rank. It is also to be remembered that a ruler was often regarded as

1. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 170.

a *dig-vijayin* type of *cakravartin* even if he succeeded in conquering a petty rival. The frequent representation of a prince inheriting his father's kingdom as one who conquered the kingdom by the prowess of his own arms is a convention of the same type. By way of illustration, it may be pointed out that, in the Omgodu grant¹ of Skandavarman II, his grandfather Skandavarman I, son and successor of Kumāraśiṣṭu described as the performer of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, is called *sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya* probably owing to the fact that Skandavarman I succeeded in overcoming an obstacle that stood in his way to his paternal throne.

3. *Boundaries of the Cakravarti-kṣetra.*

We have seen above that the *kṣetra* (sphere of influence) of a *cakravartin* (an imperial ruler of India), often mentioned as 'the whole earth', was regarded as bounded by the Himālaya or Bindusaras (in the Himālayas) in the north and by the Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin or Rāma's bridge in the south. It has also been shown that sometimes it was described as bounded by four seas on all the four sides. The conception of the *catuḥ-samudra* is no doubt conventional, as Bhāratavarṣa is bounded only on the east, south and west by seas (viz. the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea respectively). There is no sea in the north of this land. Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests that any lake or lakes to the north of India in Central Asia may have been wrongly conceived as a sea and this fact may have been responsible for the conception of India having four seas in four directions. The northern sea, however, may have actually been the deserts of Central Asia often represented in literature as 'the sea of sand'.² The conception of the *catuḥ-samudra* is also found in the Vedic literature where the expression is usually explained by the word *antarikṣa*, i.e. sky in the four directions. According to the Purāṇas,³ the world consists of seven concentric *dvīpas* or islands each of which is encircled by a sea, the central island called Jambudvīpa being surrounded

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

2. The suggestion is supported by the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 172, 279, 294; VIII, 2763. See also Stein's trans., Vol. I, p. 75.

3. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 54, 6-7.

by the salt sea.¹ Bhāratavarṣa was the southernmost part of this Jambudvīpa, although, as we have seen, sometimes the two names are used almost synonymously. The mythical conception of the seven seas may have owed its origin to the Vedic *sapta-sindhu*, i.e. the seven rivers of north-western Bhāratavarṣa. Whatever that may be, the Purāṇic conception of the earth being encircled by the sea coupled with the Vedic idea of the *catuḥ-samudra* may have been responsible for the later conception of the *cakravartī-kṣetra* (called 'the whole earth') bounded by the seas on all the four directions. In the literary and epigraphic records, often definite localities (which are mythical in some cases) are mentioned in the north, east, south and west of 'the whole earth' or *cakravartī-kṣetra* and, as expected, they practically correspond to the boundaries of ancient Bhāratavarṣa.

Bāṛa's *Kādambarī*² gives the following boundaries of the kingdom of an imaginary emperor named Candrāpiḍa: Gandhamādāna (on which Badarikāśrama in the Himālayas is situated) in the north, Setubandha in the south, the mythical Udaya or Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Mandara (apparently located here in the western or Arabian sea just as the mythical Sun-set mountain in a similar context in the *Harṣacarita*) in the west. In the *Harṣacarita*³ of the same author, the boundaries given in connection with king Harṣavardhana's attempt to conquer the quarters are: Gandhamādāna in the north, Suvela (the hill on which the city of Lāṅkā was believed to have been situated) in the south, the mythical

1. There is another Purāṇic conception according to which the earth consists of four great *dvīpas* resembling four petals of a lotus. The pericarp of this earth-lotus is the Meru or Sumeru mountain. Similar is the conception of the Buddhists as found in the Pālī literature: 'In each *cakravāla*, between the *cakravāla-parvata* and the outermost of the rocky circles which environ Meru, lies a vast ocean. In this ocean are situated, equidistant from each other, four *mahā-dvīpas*, 'great islands' or continents. On the north is Uṭṭarakuru, on the south Jambudvīpa, on the east Purvavideha and on the west Aparagoyāna. Of these, Jambudvīpa is larger than the rest, being a hundred thousand *yojanas* in diameter, and includes India.' Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 34; Childers' Dictionary, s.v. *mahādīpa*.

2. Ed. Siddhānta-āgīśa, Calcutta, pp. 194-195.

3. N. S. Press ed., p. 217.

Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west.

Similarly, in the colophon of Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā*, commentary on the *Tājñavalkya-smṛti*, the dominions of the author's patron, the later Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇa, are described as bounded by Rāma's bridge in the south, Himālaya in the north, western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west and the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east.¹

We have also a large number of inscriptions supporting the same traditions. The Meharauli inscription² of Candrarāja, who is apparently no other than the Imperial Gupta monarch Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), describes the king as having conquered the Vaṅgas (of Southern Bengal) in the east, crossed the seven mouths of the Sindhu (or Indus, all of which fall into the Arabian Sea) in the west, defeated the Bāhlikas (inhabiting the Balkh region on the Oxus) in the north and subdued certain people on the shores of the southern sea (Indian Ocean). A Mandasor inscription³ describes king Yaśodharman (532 A.D.) of Malwa as having subdued the whole land bounded by the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in the east, the Mahendra (i. e. Mahendragiri in the Tirunelveli District) in the south, the Himālaya in the north and the western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west.

1. आ सेतोः कीर्तिराशे रघुकुलतिलकस्या च शैलाधिराजाद्
आ च प्रत्यक्षपयोधेश्चटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्गतरङ्गात् ।
आ च प्राचः समुद्रान्ततनृपतिशिरोरत्नभासुरांघ्रिः
पायादाचन्द्रतारं जगदिदमखिलं विव्रमादित्यदेवः ॥

2. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 276 :

यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रुसमेत्यागतान्
वङ्गेष्वहववर्त्तिनोभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिभुजे ।
तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि समरे येन सिन्धोर्जिता वाल्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्योनिर्लैर्दक्षिणः ॥

3. *Ibid.*, p. 394 :

आ लौहित्योपकंठात्तलवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्राद्
आ गङ्गाद्विलष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमादा पयोधेः ।

Both the above records belong to the age of the Imperial Guptas when the convention of the *cakravartin* and his *kṣetra* appears to have developed its popularity. There are numerous similar references in later records.

King Devapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) is described in his records¹ as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the source of the Gaṅgā (Himālaya) in the north, Rāma's bridge in the south, Varuṇa's abode (western sea) in the west and Lakṣmī's abode (eastern sea) in the east. A similar list of the boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* seems to be quoted in connection with the victories of the army of Devapāla's father Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) where mention is made of Kedāra (in the Himālayas) in the north, the Gaṅgā-sāgara confluence in the east and Gokarṇa (in the North Kanara District of Mysore) and other holy places in the south and west.² The Karhad plates³ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (c. 939-67 A.D.) of Mānyakheta (Malkhed in the former Hyderabad state) say that he subdued the rulers of the whole land bounded by the eastern sea in the east, the western sea in the west, the Himaśaila (Himālaya) in the north and Siṃhaladvīpa (i.e. Ceylon) in the south. In the records⁴ of the Paramāra kings of Malwa, king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is said to have enjoyed the earth extending from the Kailāsa (in the Himālaya) in the north, the Malaya mountain (Travancore hills) in the south, the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west and the mythical Sun-rise mountain in the east. In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers, Vīranarasimha (c. 1506-09 A.D.),

1. *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 38 :

आ गङ्गागममहितात्सपत्नशून्याम्
आ सेतोः प्रथितदशास्यकेतुकोर्त्ते ।
उर्वीमा वरुणनिकेतनाच्च सिन्धोर्
आ लक्ष्मीकुलभवाच्च यो बुभोज ॥

2. *Ibid.*, p. 36, verse 7.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 284-85 :

अनमन्ता पूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्वीपात् ।
यं जनकाज्ञावशमपि मंडलिनश्चंडदंभयात् ॥

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235 :

आ केलासान्मलयगिरितोस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयादा
भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथुनरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन ॥

elder brother of the celebrated Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-29 A.D.), is described as having ruled over a kingdom bounded by the Setu (i.e. Rāma's bridge) in the south, the mythical Sumeru mountain (to the north of Bhāratavarṣa) in the north, the mythical Sun-rise mountain in the east and the western mountain (the mythical Sun-set mountain) in the west.¹ The boundaries of the *cakravartī-kṣetra* given in connection with the achievements of Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself, often in the same inscription, are : the eastern mountain (i.e. the mythical Sun-rise mountain) in the east, the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west, the Himācala in the north and the Setu in the south.²

It should be remembered that, whenever a king is described as the ruler or conqueror of a territory indicated by four boundaries that may be placed about the borders of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim has to be regarded as merely conventional. There is usually no truth in the claim beyond that the king in question regarded himself as an imperial, or at least an independent, ruler. The conventional nature of such claims is further demonstrated clearly by a verse describing the victories of the Pāla army in the whole area bounded by the eastern land in the east, the valley of the Malaya (Travancore hills) in the south, in the Maru country (Marwar or the Rajaputana Desert) in the west and the Prāleyādri (Himālaya) in the north, as found in the records of different monarchs of the Pāla family of Bengal and Bihar.³

1. *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, An. Rep., 1941, pp. 185-86 :

आ सेतोरा सुमेरोखनिसुरनुतः स्वरमा चोदयाद्रे,
आ पाश्चात्याचलादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्यं राज्यं शशास ।

2. *Ibid.*, p. 187 :

आ पूर्वद्विरथास्तक्षितधरकटकादा च हिमाचलान्ताद्
आसेतोरेथिसार्थश्रियमिह सफलीकृत्य कीर्त्या समिद्धः ॥

3. *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 95 :

देशे प्राचि प्रचुरपयसि स्वच्छमापीय तोयं
स्वरं भान्त्वा तदनु मलयोपत्यकाचन्दनेषु ।
कृत्वा सान्द्रैर्मरुषु जडतां शीकरैरभ्रतुल्याः
प्रालेयाद्रेः कटकमभजन्यस्य सेनागजेन्द्राः ॥

cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIX, p. 4. Cf. the following passage in an inscription of the Somavamśis of Kosala and Utkala (*IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 301) :

सेतुप्रान्तवृन्तारे हिमवतः पर्यन्तभूसीमनि
प्रागम्भाधितटावनिषु कटके पूर्वैतरक्षमाभूतः ।

Now exactly the same verse is found to have been employed by the Pāla court poets in describing the achievements of no less than four monarchs, viz. Goṣāla II (middle of the tenth century), his son Vighrahapāla II (end of the tenth century) and the latter's son Mahīpāla I (beginning of the eleventh century) and great-grandson Vighrahapāla III (middle of the eleventh century).

It will be seen that the following boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* are indicated by the epigraphic and literary records discussed above : (1) north—Himālaya, Bindusaras, Gandhamādana, Kailāsa, Kedāra, the mythical Sumeru mountain, Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa, Vaṅkṣu or Oxus and Bālhika ; (2) south—Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin, Mahendragiri, Setubandha-Rāmeśvara, Suvela, Sinhala dvīpa and Malaya ; (3) east—Vaṅga, Lauhitya, the mythical eastern or Sun-rise mountain, Bengal, the eastern country and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama ; (4) west—the mouths of the Sindhu, Arabian Sea, the mythical Mandara, western or Sun-set mountain, the Rajaputana Desert and Pārasika (Persia). As already pointed out above, these were the traditional boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa, conceived as the sphere of influence of an imperial ruler of India, and they had really nothing to do with the actual territories of the king who is described as the lord or conqueror of the land within the above boundaries.

4. *Conception of two Cakravarti-kṣetras.*

Besides the above *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, sometimes North India and South India were regarded as separate spheres of influence of the imperial monarchs respectively of Northern and Southern India. In view of the conventional nature of the claim of the status of a *cakravartin*, it is interesting to note that sometimes the same king is represented as the lord of the whole of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* in one case but of [the partial *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising either North or South India in another. We have referred above to the description of the Pāla king Devapāla of Bengal and Bihar as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the Himālaya, Rāma's bridge, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian

Sea. Elsewhere¹, however, the same monarch is said to have subdued the whole land bounded by the father of the Revā (Narmadā), i.e. the Vindhya, in the south; the father of Gaurī, i.e. the Himālaya, in the north; and the two seas (eastern and western, i.e. the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) in the east and west. These boundaries of North India are no doubt based on Manu's celebrated definition of Āryāvarta.² Similar claims are known to have been made on behalf of many other imperial rulers of Northern India. Thus Visala or Vighraharāja IV (c. 1053-64 A.D.) of the Cāmana dynasty of Ajmer and Śākambharī is described as having subdued Āryāvarta lying between the Vindhya and the Himādri.³

The Sātavāhana kings of the Deccan claimed to have been the lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha, a name often applied to the whole of South India lying beyond the Vindhyas and the Narmadā. The great Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) actually ruled over the western part of South India from the Kṛṣṇā in the south to Ākara and Avanti in Malwa in the north. But he claims at the same time to have been the lord of the Vindhya, R̥kṣavat, Pāriyātra, Mahendra and Malaya mountains which covered practically the whole of the Vindhyan range as well as the Eastern and Western Ghats. That Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi claimed a sort of vague suzerainty over the whole of South India is further indicated by the claim that his chargers drank the waters of the three seas, no doubt meaning the eastern, southern and western seas, i.e. the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian sea. A Sātavāhana king is mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* as the 'lord of the three seas'.⁴

1. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 72 :

आ रेवाजनकान्मतंगजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासंहतेर्
आ गैरीपितुरीश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुष्यसितस्मिन् गोरेः ।
मार्त्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिराशिद्वयान्
नीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥

2. *Manusmṛti*, II, 22.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215 ff.

4. See *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 196 ff.; *Harṣacarita*, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

South India conceived as a separate *cakravarti-kṣetra* is mentioned as bounded by the three seas also in the inscriptions of a later date. The Cālukyas of Badami claimed to be lords of the land lying within the three seas : त्रि-समुद्र-मध्यवर्ति-भुवन-मण्डलाधीश्वर.¹ The Mulgund inscription of Pañcāla similarly represents him as the lord of the whole country bounded by the eastern, western and southern seas.² The inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukyas, however, refer to the southern *cakravarti-kṣetra* as the land between the Narmadā and the Setu.³

Among other epigraphic references to South India as the special sphere of influence of South Indian monarchs, mention may be made of a Kadamba inscription⁴, in which the Kadamba king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) is represented as the lord of the earth as far as the Narmadā in the north.

5. *The two Cakravarti-kṣetras mentioned together.*

We have seen above that the Paramāra king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is sometimes represented as the lord of the land bounded by the Kailāsa, the Malaya and the mythical Sun-set and Sun-rise mountains. There is another tradition which says that the same Paramāra king ruled for a little over fiftyfive years over 'Dakṣiṇāpatha together with Gauḍa'.⁵ There is no doubt that Dakṣiṇāpatha has been mentioned here in the sense of the whole of South India, often conceived as a separate *cakravarti-kṣetra*. That the claim is merely conventional is shown by the fact that Bhoja's dominions did not include any considerable part of South India. But scholars have so long failed to grasp the correct significance of the word *Gauḍa* mentioned in relation to Dakṣiṇāpatha in the above context.

I have little doubt that Gauḍa has been mentioned here to indicate the northern *cakravarti-kṣetra* or Āryāvarta, so that Bhoja is represented as the lord of the entire Cakravarti-kṣetra

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 64, etc.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 307, 432.

3. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi*, p. 7.

4. Srikanta Sastri, *Sources of Karnataka History*, p. 24.

5. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 858.

comprising both Dakṣiṇāpatha and North India. Thus both the partial *cakravartī-kṣetras* are mentioned here side by side to signify the whole of Bhāratavarṣa conceived as the main *cakravartī-kṣetra*. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is some evidence in support of the name Gauḍa being sometimes applied to indicate the whole of Northern India. The Brāhmaṇical society of South India is usually divided into five classes called the *Pañcha-Drāviḍa*. These classes are : (1) Drāviḍa (Tamil), (2) Karṇāṭa (Kannāḍa), (3) Gurjara (Gujarati), (4) Mahārāṣṭra and (5) Tailaṅga (Telugu). This classification is based on a linguistic division of the South Indian Brāhmaṇas. Although the population of North India can hardly be divided into five linguistic groups with propriety, an attempt was made in imitation of the South Indian classification to classify the Brāhmaṇa society of Northern India into the same number of subdivisions. Strangely, however, the common name applied to the five classes of North Indian Brāhmaṇas was Gauḍa as Drāviḍa is the general name of southern Brāhmaṇas. The divisions of the Northern Brāhmaṇas are : (1) Sārasvatā (associated with the valley of the Sarasvatī in the Punjab), (2) Kānyakubja (in Uttar Pradesh), (3) Gauḍa (in Bengal), (4) Maithilā (in North Bihar) and Utkalā (in Orissa). In these cases, therefore, the name Drāviḍa indicates South India, while Gauḍa signifies North India. We know that the name Gauḍa, originally the name of a part of Bengal, was often used to indicate all the countries of Eastern India. Thus the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition as well as the medieval East Indian alphabet came to be called after Gauḍa. A further expansion of the connotation of the name to indicate the whole of North India is suggested by the classification of Brāhmaṇas referred to above.¹

1. Some of the points discussed here were raised by me first in *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. V. 1939, pp. 407ff. As regards the last paragraph, cf. the section on *Gauḍa* below.

PURANIC LIST OF PEOPLES

F.E. Pargiter made some interesting remarks in regard to the historical sections common to several of the Purāṇas. His remarks may be summarised as follows :

1. Special abbreviations for this Section and the next one :—

Ac—*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.

Bgv—*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta.

Bhv—*Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

Bmd—*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta.

Bmh—*Brahma Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta.

Bs—*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*—a Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta ; *b* Restored text consulted by Al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.).

Grd—*Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta.

Hv—*Harivaṁśa*.

Km—Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, G.O.S. ed., Baroda.

Krm—*Kūrma Purāṇa*—a Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta ; *b* Bibliotheca RASB, Calcutta ; *c* Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Mbh—*Mahābhārata*, Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta.

Mk—*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*—a ed. M. C. Pal, Calcutta, 1890 ; *b* Bibliotheca Indica, RASB, Calcutta, 1862 ; *c* Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta ; *d* Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Mts—*Matsya Purāṇa*—a Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta ; *b* Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay ; *c* Ānandāśrama Press, Poona ; *d* Restored text of the Matsya Purāṇa consulted by Al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.).

Pdm—*Padma Purāṇa*.

Rām—*Rāmāyaṇa*, Nirṇayaśāgara Press, Bombay.

Tks—Puruṣottama's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*.

Vj—Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī*.

Vmn—*Vāmana Purāṇa*—a ed. M. C. Pal, Calcutta, 1893 ; *b* Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Vy—*Vāyu Purāṇa*—a Baṅgabāsi Office, Calcutta ; *b* Restored text of the Vāyu Purāṇa consulted by Al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.) ; *c* Bibliotheca Indica, RASB, Calcutta ; *d* Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay ; *e* Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

2. Cf. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford University Press, 1913, pp. xxvi f.

writing introduced
in 7th cent. A.C.

GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

The *Bhv* was the first Purāṇa to give an account of the dynasties of the Kali age and the *Mts*, *Vy* and *Bmd* got their plants from it, though they as well as some other Purāṇas existed before the *Bhv*. Metrical accounts of the dynasties of North India grew up gradually, composed in Ślokas in a literary Prakrit and created by bards and minstrels. After the introduction of writing about the 7th century B.C., the accounts were composed and written down in or near Magadha in Māgadhi or Pāli. The (2) appropriated the Prakrit metrical accounts and converted Prakrit Ślokas into Sanskrit in the form of a prophecy uttered by rāṣṭra-vasa. This reshaping was carried through generally but not completely, and revisions of the text with new inclusions were made from time to time. The account of the Andhras (Andhanas) originally composed in North India and written in imitroṣṭhi was incorporated into the text about the middle 3rd century A.D. The *Mts* borrowed the accounts from the *Bhv* during the last quarter of the 3rd century. These accounts, which were still in Kharoṣṭhi and cannot now be read in the extant text of the Purāṇa, were revised during the last quarter of the 4th century and the revised text was adopted by the *Vy* now represented by a Ms (c Vāyu of Pargiter) in the India Office Library. The text was revised again about the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century and this version was adopted by the *Vy* and soon after by the *Mts* (which may have copied from the *Vy*) and now constitutes their general versions. The *Vsn* next utilised the accounts about the end of the 4th century and condensed it in Sanskrit prose. About the 8th or 9th century, the *Bgv* (which in the main condensed the matter in new Ślokas) drew its materials from the *Bmd* and more particularly from the *Vsn*. The *Grd*, whose date is uncertain, utilised the same materials but has a bald list of the kings in new Sanskrit Ślokas. Since those times a quiet process of small emendations in details has been at work in these Purāṇas.

Some of the theories of Pargiter have been criticised. If we believe that the Brāhmī alphabet evolved out of the prehistoric Indus valley script, we should only speak of the growth

✓ of the popularity of writing and not of the introduction of writing about the 7th century B. C. The Andhras (*Sātavāhaṇas*) of the Deccan had nothing to do with the north-western region of India where the *Kharoṣṭhī* script was prevalent; it is, therefore, difficult to believe that the historical accounts of this royal family were originally composed in northern (north-western?) India and written in *Kharoṣṭhī*. The definite epochs suggested by Pargiter for the composition, revision or transmission of the particular texts are again no better than tentative. But from a study of the sections on cosmography and geography which are common to several of the *Purāṇas*, it appears that Pargiter is probably right as regards the chronological sequence of at least some of the *Purāṇas* with which he deals. As to the suggestion that the original of the historical sections of the *Purāṇas* was composed in *Prakrit*, we know that the theory has been contested by Keith,¹ though Winternitz² seems to be inclined to agree with Pargiter. It is interesting to note that the geographical sections exhibit *Prakrit* influence in such forms of names as भाद्रकच्छ, वेदभ, ऋष्यवन्त, श्रुतिमन्ती, etc. It may be pointed out that the geographical sections, especially the list of *janapadas*, found in the *Bmd*, *Mk*, *Mts*, *Vmn* and *Vy* practically follow the same draft. The original draft seems to have been compiled for *Mts*. The *Vy* text appears to be the earliest copy from that of the *Mts*. The *Mk* probably copied the text from the *Vy* at a slightly later date; but a little independence of the copyist in the arrangement of names in a few cases is noticed in this text. The *Bmd* furnishes us with a still later copy of the *Vy* text. The date of this copy is possibly not far removed from the time of *Al-Bīrūnī* (c. 1030 A.D.) who is known to have consulted a *Ms* of the *Vy* in giving a list of peoples after the *Purāṇas*. The *Krm*, which like some other *Purāṇas*, copies the smaller draft of the *janapada* list from the *Vsn*, has a fuller list of rivers probably after the *Vy*. The smaller drafts both of the list of peoples and of rivers appear to have been compiled from the bigger drafts in the *Mts* and *Vy* for the first time for the *Vsn*. Like that of the *Bmd*, the *Krm* text does not

1. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 1021 ff.; 1915, pp. 328 ff.

2. *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 524 n.

seem to be far removed in point of time from the date of Al-Būrīnī. The *Vmn* appears, however, to be the latest copy of the modified draft as found in the other texts. But in several cases the compiler of the *Vmn* shows a tendency to arrange the names rather independently, although in many cases he does not go much beyond the originals before him. The new readings introduced by later copyists of the original draft or its modifications appear to have been, in some cases, offered by way of improvement or correction, and it is sometimes difficult to determine the reading of the original draft. The fact, however, that even the late *Vmn* often leaves the mistakes of the other copies as they are probably points to the absence of any determined and persistent effort on the part of the copyists to deviate from the texts before them. It should be remembered that numerous mistakes had already crept into the *Vy* text as early as c. 1030 A.D. when Al-Bīrūnī consulted a *Vy* Ms. The geographical section of the *Grd* exhibits considerable freedom, though it seems to have utilised the *Mk* section known as the *Kūrma-vibhāga*. The date of the *Grd* section seems to be close to that of the *Vmn*, as both add to the old description of the Kumārīdvīpa as पूर्वे किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनास्तथा, a new line placing the Turuṣkas in the north and the Andhras in the south. As these Turuṣkas and Andhras appear to be no other than the Turkish Musalmans and the Kākatīyas respectively, the *Vmn* and *Grd* sections on geography could not possibly have been compiled much earlier than the 13th century. The *Sv* also contains the same reference.

Karakusiyatril

TEXT

(Mk.) ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 34-59; (Vy.) ch. 45, vv. 109-136; cf. *Sachau, Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 299-300; *Bmd.* ch. 49, vv. 44-71; *Mts.* ch. 114, vv. 34-56; *Vmn.* ch. 13, vv. 36-58.

I

¹तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः² शाल्वाश्चैव स-जाङ्गलाः³ ।

शूरसेना भद्रकारा⁴ बोधाः सह-पटच्चराः (योधाः सह०, योधेयाः स० ?)⁵ ॥

1. The following two lines are omitted in Mk. Mbh (VI.9, 39-40), however, has— तत्रेमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः शाल्वा माद्रेय-जाङ्गलाः । शूरसेनाः पुलिन्दाश्च बोधा मालास्तथैव च ॥ मत्स्याः कुशल्याः सौशल्याः कुन्तयः कान्ति-कोशलाः । चेदि-मत्स्य-करुपाश्च भोजाः सिन्धु-पुलिन्दकाः ॥ As to the *janapadas* of the *Madhyadeśa*, Vmn has rather freely—यस्थाः (a—यस्याः) कुशूद्राः किल कुण्डलाश्च (a—कुण्ड०) पञ्चालकाश्चैव (a—०काश्च) सह कौशिकेश्च । वृकाः शका (a—शाका) वर्वर-कौरवाश्च कलिङ्ग-वङ्गाङ्गजनास्तथैव ॥ मर्मका मध्य-देशीया (a—०देशा वा) आभीराः (a—अभीराः) शाठ्यघानकाः ॥

2. *Mts.*—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः; (*Vy.* *Bmd.*—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः ।

Kuru For the *Kuru* country proper with its capitals at *Hāstinapura* in the present Meerut District and *Indraprastha* in the Delhi region, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 19-20, 113. For the *Pāñchālas* with their capitals at modern Rāmāgar (ancient Ahicchatra) in the Bareilly District and Kāmpil (ancient Kāmpilya) in Farrukhābād, see *ibid.*, pp. 114 f.

3. *Vy.* *Bmd.* *Mts.*—शाल्वाश्चैव स-जाङ्गलाः; *Mbh.*—शाल्वा माद्रेय-जाङ्गलाः । For the six branches of the *Śālva* tribe, cf. *Vj.* 1.3.1. 38-39—साल्वास्तु कारकुत्सी (Ac—क्षी) यास्तेषां त्ववयवाः परे । उदुम्बरास्तिलखला महा- (द्र)कारा युगन्धराः । हु (भु) लिगाः शरदण्डाश्च षट् साल्वावयवा इमे ॥

For the traditional verse referring to the constituting elements of the *Śālva* or *Kāraukuṣiṣya* tribe that lived in the Punjab and the adjoining regions of U.P. and Rajputana, quoted by grammarians, cf. *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 80. (*Jāngala*) is apparently the same as *Kuru-Jāngala* near the Sarasvatī. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

4. *Vy.* *Bmd.* *Mts.*—शूरसेना भद्रकाराः; *Mbh.*—शूरसेनाः पुलिन्दाश्च ।

The *Bhadrakāras* are apparently the same as the *Madrakāras* who were a branch of the *Śālva* tribe (supra, note 3) and inhabited the north-eastern part of the Punjab or the adjoining regions. The *Sūrasenas* were a branch of the *Yādavas* and lived about *Māthurā*. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 f.

5. *Vy acde.* *Bmd.*—बोधाः शतपथेश्वरैः; *Vy b.*—बोधाः सह पथेश्वरैः; *Mts.*—बाह्याः सहपटच्चराः; *Mbh.*—बोधा मालास्तथैव च । The *Paṭaccaras* are

मार्क -
वायु
ब्रह्मण्य
वत्सेय
वामन
मन्त्र

मत्स्याः किराताः कुल्याश्च¹ कुन्तयः काशि-कोशलः² ।

आवन्ताश्च भुलिङ्गाश्च³ मगधाश्चान्धकैः सह⁴ ॥

मध्यदेश्या जनपदाः⁵ प्रायशोमी प्रकीर्तिताः⁶ ॥

known from Grd I, 55, 11—पञ्चालाः कुरुवो मत्स्या यौधेयाः सपटञ्चराः । कुन्तयः शूरसेनाश्च मध्यदेशजनाः स्मृताः । For the Yodheya or Yaudheya tribe of Grd, see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 457-58. The territories of the Yaudheyas included the Bayana region of Bharatpur and Johiyabar on the Satlaj. The Pataccaras are believed to have occupied parts of the Allahabad and Banda Districts.

1. Vy a—वत्साः किसल्वाः कुल्याश्च, b—वत्साः किसद्याः कुल्याश्च, c d e—वत्साः किसष्णाः कुल्याश्च, c (v.l.) e. (v.l.)—वत्साः किसष्टाः कुल्याश्च, e (v.l.) वत्साः किसज्याः कुल्याश्च ; Bmd—वत्साः कुसट्टा कुल्याश्च ; Mk—मत्स्याश्चकूटाः कुल्याश्च ; Mts—मत्स्याः किराताः कुल्याश्च । The first name is either Matsya (Jaipur-Alwar region) or Vatsa (Allahabad region). Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f. Kirāta=Himalayan mountaineers ; cf. the name of the Kirāntis who once reigned over a large portion of Nepal. The Kulyas were probably the people of the present Kulait region on the upper Rāvi. ~~were they people of MD.~~

2. Vy, Mk, Bmd, Mts—कुन्तलाः काशिकोशलः ; Mts c (v.l.)—कुन्तयः काशिकोशलः ; Mbh—कुन्तयः कान्तिकोशलः. The reading कुन्तयः is supported by Grd, I, 55, 11, quoted at p. 21 n. 5. The Kuntis were a branch of the Yādava tribe living apparently not far from the Mathurā region. The Kāsis lived about Vārāṇasī (Benares). This Kōśala is Uttara-Kōśala with its capital at Ayodhyā (in the Fyzabad Dist.). See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff., 84 ff.

3. Mts—आवन्ताश्च कलिङ्गाश्च ; Mk a c (v.l.)—अथर्वाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च, b—अथर्वाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च, c—अथर्वाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च, d—अथर्वाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च ; Bmd—प्रथमाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च ; Vy ac—अथर्पाश्च तिलङ्गाश्च, cde (v.l.)—अथर्पाश्च तिलङ्गाश्च, b—अथर्पाश्चभुलिङ्गाश्च (sic. अथर्पाश्च भुलिङ्गाश्च). The Bhuliṅgas were a branch of the Śālva tribe ; cf. p. 21 note 3. The Avantas are apparently the same as the Avantis who lived in West Malwa and had their chief city at Ujjain. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

4. Mk—मलकाश्च वृकैः सह ; Bmd, Vy acde—मगधाश्च वृकैः सह, b—मषकाश्च वृकैः सह ; Mts—मूकाश्चैवान्धकैः सह. Magadha=Patna and Gaya Districts of Bihar ; cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* p. 94 ff. The Andhakas were a branch of the Yādava tribe and possibly lived originally not far from Mathurā. Later they appear to have migrated towards Kathiawar.

5. Mk—मध्यदेश्या जनपदाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—मध्यदेशा जनपदाः. 37, n. 5.

6. Mk, Vy, Bmd—प्रायशोमी प्रकीर्तिताः ; Mts—प्रायशः परिकीर्तिताः.

¹सह्यस्य उत्तरार्द्धे तु² यत्र गोदावरी नदी³ ।
 पृथिव्यामिह कृत्स्नायां⁴ स प्रदेशो मनोरमः⁵ ॥

II

वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च⁶ आभीराः कालतोयकाः⁷ ।
 अपरान्ताश्च शू(क्षु?)द्राश्च⁸ पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः⁹ ॥

1. The following lines including those referring to Govardhana are omitted in some of the Vy Mss. The verse is quoted in Km.

2. Vy a—सह्यस्य उत्तरार्द्धे तु, cde—सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्द्धे तु, e (v.l.)—सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्द्धे तु ; Mk a—सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यस्तु, bcd—सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यास्तु ; Bmd—सह्यस्य उत्तरान्ते तु. Sahya=the Western Ghats excluding the Travancore hills.

3. Mk, Vy, Bmd—यत्र गोदावरी नदी ; Mts—तत्र गोदावरी नदी. The Puranic passage further refers to the holy place called Govardhana near Nasik on the Godavari river. Cf. p. 51, n. 6.

4. Vy, Bmd—पृथिव्यामिह कृत्स्नायां ; Mk, Mts—पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां.

5. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—सप्रदेशो मनोरमः

6. Mk, Vy ac, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च, Vy b—वाह्लीका वाढवानाश्च, de (v.l.)—वाह्लीका वाढधानाश्च. Valhika=modern Balkh region in the northern part of Afghanistan. The Vāṭadhānas lived in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and had a settlement at Madhyamikā near Chitor (Mah., II, 29,7). See Motichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud.*, pp. 27-28, 31-32.

7. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—आभीराः कालतोयकाः ; Vmn a=अभीराः कालतोयदाः, b—अभिराः कालतोयदाः. For the Ābhīras who lived to the north of the Rajputana desert, see Sircar, *Suc. Sūt.* pp. 242 f. We may also think of Abiravān between Herat and Kandahar which may have been the original home of the Ābhīras. In the 3rd century A.D., there was an Ābhīra kingdom in the north-western Deccan. Kālatoyaka=Kalāt in Baluchistan.

8. Mk—अपरान्ताश्च शूद्राश्च, Vy acde, Bmd—अपरीताश्च शूद्राश्च ; Vy b omits शूद्र ; Mts a—पुरन्धाश्चैव शूद्राश्च, bc—पुरन्धाश्चैव शूद्राश्च, e (v.l.)—परान्धाश्चैव शूद्राश्च ; Vmn—अपरान्तास्तथा शूद्राः. The Śūdras lived near the Ābhīras ; cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Aparānta=Aparita=Parandhra may be Greek Paraitakene in the lower Helmund valley. As the Śūdras are mentioned below separately (p. 25, n. 2), we may possibly suggest Kṣudra or Kṣudraka (Greek Oxydrakai) living about the Montgomery Dist. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

9. Mk ad, Vy be (v.l.)—पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ; Vy acde—पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ; Mk bc, Bmd—पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ; Mts—पल्लवाश्चात्तखण्डिकाः ;

गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव¹ सिन्धु-सौवीर-मद्रकाः² ।

शतद्रुजाः कुलिन्दाश्च³ पारदा हारहूणकाः⁴ ॥

रमठा रुद्रकटकाः⁵ कैकेया दशमानकाः⁶ ।

Vmn—पल्लवाश्च खल्लेटकाः. Pahlava=the Pahlavis or Persians (Sasanians ?).

Carmakhandika=people of Samarkand.

1. Mk *acd*, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn=गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव; Mk *b*—गान्धारा गबलाश्चैव. Gandhāra=the Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 f. The ancient capitals of the country were Takṣaśilā in the Rawalpindi Dist. and Puṣkalāvati (Charsadda near Peshawar), and Uḍabhāṇḍapura (Und near Attock) in the early medieval period. Yavana=Indo-Greek settlements in the north-western part of India and adjoining lands. Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

2. Mk, Bmd, Mts *abe*—सिन्धुसौवीरमद्रकाः; Vy *acde*, Mts *c* (v.l.), Vmn—सिन्धुसौवीरमद्रकाः; Vy *b*—सिन्धुसौवीरमद्रकाः। According to *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 259-60, 300, Sauvira included Multān and Jāhrāvār which latter lay about fifty miles below the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab. Sindhu lay to the west and Sauvira to the east of the lower Indus. Madra=district round Sialkot (ancient Śākala).

3. Mk—शतद्रुजाः कलिङ्गाश्च; Vy *acde*—शकहदाः कुलिन्दाश्च; *e* (v.l.)—शकाः हदाः कुलिन्दाश्च; Bmd—शका हूणाः कुलिन्दाश्च; Mts—शका द्रुह्याः पुलिन्दाश्च, *c* (v.l.)—शतद्रव(वः) पुलिन्दाश्च; Vy *b*—शकाद्रिहा ललिताश्च. The ancient Kuṇindas are supposed to be represented by the modern Kunets of Kūlū and the Simla region; but they formerly appear to have extended upto the Shaharanpur and Ambala Districts where their coins have been discovered in large numbers. See Smith, *Cat.*, p. 161. Satadruja=people of the Satlaj valley.

4. Bmd—पारदा हारहूणकाः; Mk—पारदा हारभूषिकाः; Vy *acde*—परिता हारभूरिकाः; Mts—पारदा हारभूषिकाः, *c* (v.l.)—परिता हारभूषिकाः. Omitted in Vy *b*. The reading हारहूण is supported by Mbh, II, 32, 12, while Bs, XIV, 33 suggests हारहूर which is also supported by Km. The Pāradas were the Parthians who lived in the Khorāsan region. The Hārahūṇas or Hārahūras were probably a branch of the Huns who subjugated the whole land from Central Asia to Central India about the end of the 5th century A.D. Motichandra locates the Hārahūras in the Herat region (*op. cit.*, p. 66).

5. Mk—माठरा बहुभद्राश्च, Vya—रमठा रुद्रकटकाः; *cde*—रमठा रुद्रकटकाः; Bmd. रमणा रुद्रकटकाः; Mts—रामठाः कण्टकाराश्च; Vmn—माठरोदकधाराश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. Lévi locates the Ramathas between Ghazni and Wakhan (*J. A.*, 19:8, p. 125). The Ruddhakatakas may have lived in the gold-producing Rudok area of Tibet.

6. Mk—कैकेया दशमालिकाः; Bmd—कैकेया दशमालिकाः; Vy *ac*—कैकेया दशमालिकाः; *de*—कैकेया दशमालिकाः; Mts *a*—कैकेया दशमानकाः;

क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च¹ तथा शूद्रकुलानि च² ॥

³काम्बोजा दरदाश्चैव¹ वर्वरा अङ्गलौकिकाः⁵ ।

चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च⁶ बहुला बाह्यतो नराः⁷ ॥

b—कैकेया दशनामकाः, *c*—कैकेया दशनामकाः, *c* (v.l.)—कैकेया दशनामिकाः;
Vmn a—कैकेया दशमास्तथा, *b*—कैकेया दशनास्तथा; *Vy c* (v.l.)—केशपा दश-
माणिकाः. Omitted in *Vy b*. For the Kekayas, cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*,
pp. 52 ff. They lived between the Jhelam and the Beas and had their
capital at Girivraja (Girjāk or Jalālpur on the Jhelam). The Daśamānakas
may have lived in the Dasht valley in Kalāt.

1. *Mk. Vy acde, Bmd*—क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च; *Mts*—क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च;
Vmn—क्षत्रियाः प्रतिवेशाश्च. Omitted in *Vy b*. For the Ksatriis (Greek
Xathroi) living near the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, see
Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

2. *Mk, Vy acde, Bmd*—वैश्यशूद्रकुलानि च; *Mts*—वैश्याः शूद्रकुलानि च;
Vmn—तथा शूद्रकुलानि च. Omitted in *Vy b*. See p. 23, note 8 above.

3. The following two lines are omitted in *Mts* and partly in *Vy b*.

4. *Mk, Vy acde, Bmd, Vmn*—काम्बोजा दरदाश्चैव. The Kāmbojas
probably lived in the land extending from the Rajauri valley in Kashmir to
the Hindu Kush. The Daradas lived round Daratpuri in the upper valley of
the Kishengāngā in northern Kashmir. Some scholars locate the Kāmbojas
near Badakhshan beyond the Hindu Kush. See Chapter IV. below.

5. *Mk abc*—वर्वरा हर्षवर्द्धनाः; *Vy acde*—वर्वराः प्रियलौकिकाः; *Mk d, Bmd*
—वर्वरा अङ्गलौकिकाः; *Vmn a*—वर्वराश्चाङ्गलौकिकाः, *b*—वर्वराश्चाङ्गलौकिकाः.
Aṅgaloka is also mentioned elsewhere in the Purāṇas; cf. below, p. 60, note 9.
Varvara reminds one of Barbaricum, a port on the principal mouth of the Indus
in the early centuries of the Christian era. But apparently the same people
is also mentioned elsewhere; cf. *loc. cit.*, note 7. Aṅgaloka may be the land
of the Agalassoi of the Greeks. But they lived in the land between the
Jhelam and the Chenab.

6. *Mk ad, Bmd, Vy c* (v.l.)—चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च; *Vy acde*—पीनाश्चैव
तुषाराश्च; *Mk bc*—चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च; *Vmn*—वेणाश्चैव तुषाराश्च. चीन =
the Tibeto-Chinese peoples. तुखार, तुषार—cf. Tukhāristān of the Arabs which
included the old Bactria and indicated the mountainous country on both sides
of the middle Oxus as far as Badakhshan though the country to the south of the
river was usually understood by the name (Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom
and its Fall, tr. p. 430). For the Chīnas, see Jarret, Ain-i-Akbarī, pp. 118-19;
also below, p. 60, n. 6; p. 61, n. 1; Chapter IV.

7. *Mk abc*—बहुला बाह्यतो नराः; *Vy acde, Mk d*—पह्लवा बाह्यतोदराः;
Bmd—पह्लवाश्च क्षतोदराः; *Vmn*—बहुधा बाह्यतो दराः; *Vy b*—मल्लकोदराः
(?), *c* (v.l.)—रत्नधाराः क्षतोदराः ।

क्षत्रयोथ भरद्वाजाः¹ प्रस्थलाश्च दशेरकाः² ।

लम्पाकास्तल (श्चाव?) गानाश्च³ चूलिका जागुडैः सहः⁴ ॥

⁵औपधा (औरसा?) श्चानिभद्राश्च⁶ किरातानाञ्च जातयः⁷ ।

तोमरा हंसमागश्च⁸ काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा⁹ ॥

1. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—आत्रेयाश्च भरद्वाजाः; Mts *a*—क्षत्रयोथ भरद्वाजाः; *bc*—अत्रयोथ भरद्वाजा; Vmn—आत्रेयाः सभरद्वाजाः; Vy *b*—आत्रेयाश्च भरद्वाजाः

2. Mk *acd*—पुष्कलाश्च कशेरकाः; *b*—पुष्कलाश्च कुशेरकाः; Vy *acde* Bmd—प्रस्थलाश्च कशेरकाः; Mts—प्रस्थलाः सदशेरकाः, *c* (v.l.)—प्रस्थलाः सह-सौभकाः; Vmn, Mk *c* (v.l.)—प्रस्थलाश्च दशेरकाः. Both Prasthala and Puṣkalāvataka are mentioned in the list of Bs, 16, 26. Rām, IV.43, 11 locates Prasthala in the north. Puṣkala=people of Puṣklāvati, modern Prang. Charsadda-Mir Ziyarat region near Peshawar. Daśeraka=Maru, i.e. the Marwar region in Rajputana.

3. Mk—लम्पाकाः शूलकाराश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd—लम्पाकास्तनपाश्चैव; Mts *a*—लम्पाकास्तलगाश्च *bc*—लम्पाकास्तलगानाश्च, *c* (v.l.)—लम्पाकास्तङ्गणाश्चैव; Vy *e* (v.l.)—लम्पाकास्तानकाश्चैव, लम्पाकास्तनकाश्चैव, लम्पाकास्तनसाश्चैव, *b*—लम्पाकास्तलकूनाश्च. Lampāka=modern Laghman in Afghanistan. The Āvagānas or Afghans are mentioned in Bs.

4. Mk—चूलिका जागुडैः सह; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पीडिका जुहुडैः सह; Vy *b*—चूलिका जगरैः सह, *e* (v.l.)—चूडिका जुहुडैः सह; Mts—सैनिकाः सह जाङ्गलैः; Vmn—चूडिकास्तङ्गणैः सह । Jāguda=South Afghanistan with its capital at Ghazni. The Čūlikas were the Sogdians living to the north of the Oxus. See Bagchi in *JDL*, XXI.

5. The following three lines are omitted in Mts and Vy *b*.

6. Mk *a*—औपधाश्चालिभद्राश्च, *bd*—औपधाश्चानिभद्राश्च, *c*—औपधा-श्चानिभद्राश्च; Vy *a*—अपसाश्चालिभद्राश्च; Bmd, Vy *cde*—अपगाश्चालिभद्राश्च; Vmn—अलसाश्चालिभद्राश्च. Aurasā=people of Urasā, modern Hazara District. See below, p. 61, note 8.

7. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—किरातानाञ्च जातयः । cf. p. 22, n. 1.

8. Mk—तामसा हंसमागश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तोमरा हंसमागश्च; Vmn—तामसा कर्ममागश्च. See p. 36, note 5. Haṁsamārga=Humza in North-West Kashmir.

9. Mk *ac*, Vy *acde*, Bmd—काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा; Mk *b*—काश्मीरास्तुङ्गणास्तथा; *d*—काश्मीरास्तुमणास्तथा; Vmn—सुपाश्वा गणकास्तथा. Kāśmīra=people of the upper Viṣṭā valley. The land of the Taṅgaṇa or Taṅgaṇa people probably had its headquarters at Taṅgaṇāpura near Joshimath in the Garhwal District, U.P. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 286).

कुलूताश्चाहु(वाही?)काश्चैव¹ ऊर्णा(हूणा?) दार्वास्तथैव च² ।

एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु³ प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत⁴ ॥

III

अङ्गा वङ्गा मुद्गरका⁵ अन्तगिरिवह्निगिरि⁶ ।

1. Mk—चूलिका: कुहकाश्चैव; Vy a, Bmd—चूलिकाश्चाहुकाश्चैव; Vy cdc—चूलिकाश्चाहुकाश्चैव; Vmn a—कुलूतो कुहिकाश्चूर्णाः, b—कुलूताः कुहिकाश्चूर्णाः; Vy e (v.l.)—चूलिका वाहुकाश्चैव. For the Kulūtas of Kulū in the Kangra Dist., see Allan, *Cat. C.A.I.*, p. c; for the Bāhikas of the Punjab, see Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 276 n.

2. Mk ac—जर्णा दर्वास्तथैव च, d—ऊर्णा दार्वास्तथैव च; Bmd, Mk b—ऊर्णा दर्वास्तथैव च; Vmn—तूर्णपादाः सकुक्कुटाः; Vy acde—पूर्णदर्वस्तथैव च. The reading suggested by another passage (p.36, note 8) is हूणा दार्वाः. The *Harṣacarita* places the Hūṇas in the Uttarāpatha apparently somewhere about the Western Panjab. Dārva= people of Dārvābhisāra which roughly comprised the Punch and Naoshera regions between the Jhelam and the Chenab.

3. Mk abc—एते देशा ह्युदीच्यास्तु; d—एते देशा ह्युदीच्यास्तु; Vy acde, Bmd—एते देशाह्युदीच्याश्च; Mts—एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु. Vmn has rather freely—माण्डव्याः पानवीयाश्च उत्तरापथवासिनः । Cf. p. 37, n. 5.

4. Vy acde, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत; Mk—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोध मे । Cf. p. 37, n. 6.

5. Mk abc—अध्रारका मुद्गरकाः, d—अभ्रा वका मुद्गरकाः, c (v.l.)—अन्ध्रवाश्च मुद्गरकाः; Vy acde, Bmd—अन्ध्रवाकाः मुजुरकाः; Vy b—अन्ध्रवाका मुद्गरकाः; Mts ab—अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरकाः, c—अङ्गा वङ्गा भद्गुरकाः, v.l.—अङ्गा वङ्गा भद्रवकाः, अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरकाः, Vmn—अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरवाः. Aṅga and Vaṅga appear to have been separated from Aṅgeya and Vāṅgeya through confusion (cf. below). Mudgaraka (modern Monghyr) is the same as Mudgara of Km and Mudgagiri of inscriptions. Aṅga=East Bihar and Vaṅga=South-East Bengal. For the Aṅga capital Campā near Lakhisarai in the Monghyr Dist., see *JBRs*, Vol. XLI, p. 150. For the Vaṅga capital near the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī, see below.

6. Mk abc—अन्तगिर्या बह्निगिराः, c (v.l.)—अन्तगिरिवह्निगिराः; Vy acde, Bmd, Mk d—अन्तगिरिवह्निगिराः; Mts—अन्तगिरिवह्निगिरि; Vmn—स्वन्तगिरिवह्निगिराः; Vy b—प्रात्रगिरिवह्निगिराः. Antargiri and Bahirgiri may be located towards the north of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) on the strength of Mbh, II, 27, 1-3.

१ तथा प्रवङ्ग-वाङ्गेया^२ मलदा मल्लवर्त्तिकाः^३ ॥

४ ब्रह्मोत्तरा प्र(श्री?) विजया^५ भार्गवाङ्गेय-मल्लकाः^६ ।

प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पौण्ड्राश्च^७ विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः^८ ॥

1. The line is omitted in Mts *ab*.

2. Mk *ac*—यथा प्रवङ्गा रङ्गेयाः, *b*—तथा प्रवङ्गा रङ्गेयाः; *c* (v.l.) तथा सवङ्गा वङ्गेयाः, *d*—तथा प्लवङ्गा रङ्गेयाः; Vy *acde*—तथा प्रवङ्गवङ्गेयाः, *b*—तथा प्रथङ्गवङ्गेयाः; Bmd—तथा प्रवङ्गा वङ्गाश्च; Vmn—तथा प्रवङ्गवाङ्गेयाः; Mts *c*—ततः प्लवङ्गमातङ्गाः. The correct reading of the names and their identification are doubtful.

3. Mk *abc*—मानदा मानवर्त्तिकाः, *c* (v.l.)—मालदा मालवर्त्तिकाः, *d*—मालदा मलवर्त्तिकाः; Vy *acde*—मालदा मालवर्त्तिनः, *e* (v.l.)—मलदा मलवर्त्तिनः, मालवा मलवर्त्तिनः, *b*—मालवा मालवर्त्तिकाः; Mts *c*—यमका मल्लवर्णकाः; Bmd—मालदा मालवर्णिकाः; Vmn—मांसादा वलदन्तिकाः. The Maladas and Mallavartakas are also known from *Km*. Cf. p. 33, note 8 below.

4. This line is omitted in Vy *b*.

5. Mk *acd*—ब्राह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn *a*, Mk *b*—ब्रह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः; Vmn *b*—ब्रह्मोत्तराः प्राविजयाः, Mts *abc*—सुह्योत्तराः प्रविजयाः, *c* (v.l.)—सह्योत्तराः प्रविजयाः. The reading सुह्योत्तर is not supported by *Km* which reads सुह्य (the ancient name of Rāḍha in South-West Bengal) and ब्रह्म or ब्रह्मोत्तर side by side. *Brahmottara* may be associated with the name of Burma which is derived from the *Mrama*, one of the three tribes that migrated into Burma and ultimately lent their name as a national designation to all Burmese. Cf. below, p. 64 note 1. But for a *Barmhattar* in Sarkar Satgaon, see Jarret, *op. cit.*, p. 141. *Śrīvijaya* (modern Palembang in Sumatra) was the capital of the Śailendra emperors in the early medieval period.

6. Mk *abc*—भार्गवा ज्ञेयमल्लकाः, *d*—भार्गवा गेयमल्लकाः; Vy *acde*, Bmd—भार्गवा गेयमर्षकाः; Mts *abc*—भार्गवा गेयमालवाः; *c* (v.l.)—भार्गवा-गेयमालवाः; भार्गवाश्चार्यगालवाः, भार्गवा ये च मालवाः; Vmn *a*—भार्गवाङ्गेय-मर्षकाः, *b*—भार्गवाङ्गेयमर्षकाः. The correct reading of the names and their location are doubtful.

7. Mk—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च मद्राश्च; Vy—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च मुण्डाश्च; Bmd—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पौण्ड्राश्च; Mts—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च; Vmn—प्राग्ज्योतिषाः पृषध्राश्च. *Prāgyiṣṭa*=modern Gauhati area of Assam and the adjoining region. *Pauṇḍra*=people of North Bengal with their city called पुण्ड्रनगर (later पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन), modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.

8. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः; Vy *b*—आविकास्ताम्रलिप्तिकाः. *Videha*=a people living in North Bihar and the adjoining region with their capital at Mithilā, modern Janakpur in the

मल्ला मगध-गोनर्दीः¹ प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः² ॥

IV

³अथापरे जनपदा⁴ दक्षिणापथवासिनः⁵ ।

पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव⁶ चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च⁷ ॥

सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव⁸ कुमारा वनवासकाः⁹ ।

Nepalese Tarai. Tāmraliptaka= people of the district round modern Tamruk in South-West Bengal.

1. Mk *abc*—मल्ला मगधगोमन्ताः; *d*—मल्ला मगधगोमेदाः; Vy—माला मगधगोविन्दाः; Bmd—माला मगधगोनन्दाः; Mts *a*—शाल्वमगधगोनर्दीः, *bc*—शाल्वमगधगोनर्दीः, Vmn—माला मगधमानन्दाः. For the Mallas of the district round Kuśinagara (Kasia in the Gorakhpur District), see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 f. Note that Magadha was sometimes located in Madhyadeśa (p. 22, note 4) and sometimes in Prācyā. *Vj* which locates the Andhras and Sālvās (cf. p. 27, note 5,) in East India apparently relied on these erroneous texts of the Purāṇas. For Gonarda which belonged to East India only theoretically, see *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, part i, p. 1 ff., and below.

2. Mk, Vy *a*, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः; Vmn—प्राच्या जनपदास्त्वमे; Vy *cde*—प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः ।

3. The following line is omitted in Vmn.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd—अथापरे जनपदाः; Mts—तेषां परे जनपदाः

5. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—दक्षिणापथवासिनः. Cf. p. 37, n. 10.

6. Mk *ac*, Vmn—पण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव; Mk *b*—पण्ड्याश्च केवलाश्चैव; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Mk *d*—पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव. The Pāṇdyas and Keraias lived about the Madurai-Ramanathapuram-Tirunelveli region and the Malayalam-speaking area respectively.

7. Mk *ac*—गोलाङ्गुलास्तथैव च, *b*—गोलाङ्गुलारतथैव च, *d*—चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च; Vy, Bmd—चौल्याः कुल्यास्तथैव च; Mts—चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च; Vmn—चौडाकुल्याश्च राक्षस. For the reading गोलाङ्गुल which seems to be a later emendation, see *Bs*, 16, 3. The Colas lived about the Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli Districts of Madras State.

8. Mk—शैलपा मूषिकाश्चैव; Vy, Bmd—सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव; Mts—सेतुकाः सूतिकाश्चैव; Vmn—जानुका मूषिकादाश्च. *Setuka*=people of *Setu-bandha-Rāmeśvara*. *Mūṣika*=probably the people living on the banks of the Musi now running by the town of Hyderabad (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 80). Another river of this name runs through the Nellore and Guntur Districts.

9. Mk *abc*—कुसुमा नाम वासकाः, *d*—कुमारा वनवासकाः; Vy *acde*—कुमना वनवासिकाः; Bmd—कुनासा वानवासकाः; Mts—कुपथा वाजिवासिकाः;

महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः¹ कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः² ॥

कावेराः सह चैषीका³ आटव्याः शवराश्च ये⁴ ॥

पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीका (या)⁵ विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह⁶ ॥

पौरिका मौलिका (मौलका?) श्चैव⁸ अश्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः⁹ ।

c (v.l.)—कुपथा वाजिकाः शकाः, कुपथा वाजिकाशिकाः ; Vmn—कुमारादा महा-
शकाः ; Vy b—रुमना वनवासिकाः. The Vanavāsakas were the inhabitants of
modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District. Kumāra=people of
Cape Comorin called Kumārīdvīpa.

1. Mk. Vy, Bmd, Vmn a—महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः ; Mts a—नवराष्ट्रा
माहिषकाः ; bc—नवराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः ; Mk d, Vmn b—महाराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः.
Mahārāṣṭra=modern Marāṭhā country. Māhiṣaka=people of the ancient
Mahiṣaviṣaya in Mysore or of Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.

2. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ; Mts c (v.l.)—
कपिलाश्चैव सर्वशः. The Kalinga country originally comprised the present
Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa and the adjoining regions.

3. Mk—आभीराः सहचैषीकाः ; Vy abe (v.l.), Bmd—आभीराः सहचैषीकाः ;
Vycde—अभीराः सहचैषीकाः ; Mts—कारुपाश्च सहचैषीकाः ; c (v.l.) कावेराश्च
सहचैषीकाः ; Vmn—आभीराः सहचैषीकाः. Kāvera=people living on the Kāveri.

4. Mk abc—आटव्याः शवराश्च ये ; Mk d, Vy b—आटव्याः शवराश्च ये ;
Vy acde. Bmd—आटव्याश्च वराश्च ये ; Mts—आटव्याः शवरास्तथा, Vmn—
आरण्याः शवराश्च ये. Śavara foresters=the Saoras of Ganjam and Visa-
khapatnam.

5. Mk abc—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमौलिकाः ; d—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमालिकाः ; Vy ace,
Bmd—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीकाः ; Vy ad—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीकाः ; Mts—पुलिन्दा
विन्ध्यपुषिकाः ; Vmn—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यशौलिकाः. The reference is to the Pulindas
of the Vindhyan region.

6. Mk, Vy bde, Mts be, Vmn b—विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह ; Vy a, Bmd, Mts a—
विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह ; Vmn a—वेदभो दण्डकैः सह. The Prakritism in the form
वेदभो is interesting to note. Vidarbha=modern Berar and the adjoining
regions. Daṇḍaka is the old name of parts of the Marāṭhā country including
especially the Nasik District.

7. The following lines together with the first line of the next Section
are omitted in Mts.

8. Mk—पौरिका मौलिकाश्चैव ; Vy a—पौनिका मौलिकाश्चैव, cde—
पानिका मौनिकाश्चैव, b recognises मौलिक only ; Bmd—शौलिका मौलिकाश्चैव
Paurika=people of Puri in the Konkan. Maulika=people of Mūlaka, the
district round Paithan on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District, Bombay.

9. Mk, Vy ab, Bmd, Vmn b—अश्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः ; Vy cde—अश्मका

नै (ऋ?) पिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्रा¹ उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः (०लूपाः?)² ।
 दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशा³ अपरान्तान् निबोधत⁴ ॥

V

⁵शूर्पारकाः कोलवना⁶ दुर्गास्तालीकटैः सह⁷ ।

भोगवर्द्धनाः; Vmn *a*—^{अश्मकाः भोगवर्द्धनाः S.v. P. 223.}अलका भोगवर्द्धनाः. Āsmaka was contiguous to Mūlaka and had its capital at Paudanya, identified by Raychaudhuri with Bōdhan in the Nizamabad District of Andhra Pradesh. Bhogavardhana reminds us of the Bhokardan Taluk of the Aurangabad District, Bombay.

1. Mk *ac*—नैपिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः, *b*—नैपिकाः कुन्तला अन्धाः *d*—नैपिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः; Vy *ace*—नैपिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः, *b*—नैपिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः; *d*—नैपिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः; Bmd—मैन्दिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः; Vmn—नैमिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः. Kuntala=people of the region around the North Kanara District. The Andhra people lived in Andhrāpatha about the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Originally they appear to have spread over large parts of the Central and Northern Deccan. For the R̥ṣikas on the Krishna, see Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1, p. 198 n.

2. Mk—उद्भिदा वनदारकाः, Vy *acde*, Bmd—उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः, *b*—उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः; Vmn *a*—उच्छिदा नलकारकाः, *b*—उलिदा नलकारकाः । नलकालिकाः=नलकालुपाः ? =the Nalas and Ālupas ? उद्भिद=आभीर ? The Ābhīras ruled in the northern part of Mahārāṣṭra and the Koṅkan.

3. Mk—दाक्षिणात्यास्त्वमी देशाः; Vy, Bmd—दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशाः. Vmn has rather freely—दाक्षिणात्या जनपदास्त्वमे शालकटांकट (*b*—कटकट) Al-Bīrūnī wrongly recognises दाक्षिणात्य and वैदिश, (sic. वै देशाः) as two *janapadas* of the South and refers to the following countries of the West as those belonging to the South.

4. Mk *abc*—अपरास्तान् निबोध मे; *d*—अपरास्तान् निबोध मे; Vy, Bmd—अपरास्तान् निबोधत । Cf. p. 37, n. 10.

5. The following line is omitted in Mts.

6. Mk—सूर्यारकाः कालिवलाः ; Vy *acd*—शूर्पारकाः कोलवनाः, *e*—सूर्यारकाः कालवनाः ; Bmd, Vy *b*—शूर्पारकाः कोलवनाः; Vmn—शूर्पारका वारिधानाः Śūrpāraka=Sopara not far from Bombay. Kolavana=Kolāpura (Kolhapūr), or Koḍagu (Coorg).

7. Mk *abc*—दुर्गाश्चानीकटैः सह, *d*—दुर्गाश्चामीकटैः सह; Vy *acde*—दुर्गाः कालीतकैः सह, *b*—दुर्गास्तिल्लीतकैः सह ; Bmd—दुर्गाः कालीकटैः सह ; Vmn—दुर्गास्तालीकटैः सह. The reading तालीकट is supported by Es, XIV, 11 and Mbh, II, 31, 65 (where तालाकट is a mistake for तालीकट). Tālikāṭa=Ṭalākāḍ,

पुलेयाश्च सुरा(सुर?) लाश्च¹ रूपसास्तामसैः सह² ॥

³तथा तुरमिनश्चैव (तुम्बवनाश्चैव ?)⁴ सर्वे चैव कारस्कराः⁵ ।

नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये⁶ येचैवोत्तरनर्मदाः⁷ ॥

the Western Ganga capital which was really in the south. Durga=people of the valley of the Durgā, a tributary of the Sābarmatī.

1. Mk—पुलिन्दाश्च सुमोनाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पुलेयाश्च सुरालाश्च ; Vy *b*—पुलेयाश्च करालाश्च (?) ; Mts—कुलीयाश्च सिरालाश्च ; Vmn—पुलीयाश्चासिनोलाश्च. For a river called मुरला in which the अपराजित elephants sported, see *Sel. Ins.*, p. 453a. The Marala people is known to have come into contact with Pratihāra Mūhupāla I according to Rājasekhara's *Bālabhārata* or *Pracandafāṇḍava* (N. S. P. ed., I. 7) and with Kalacuri Karna according to the Bheraghat inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 11). Paramāra Sindhurāja (c.995-1010 A.D.) is represented in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (X, 14-20) as having defeated the Muralas. The reading of the other names and their location are uncertain.

2. Mk—रूपसाः स्वापदैः सह ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—रूपसास्तामसैः सह ; Vmn—तापसास्तामसास्तथा ; Vy *b*—रूपसास्तामसैः सह. The reading of the names and their location are uncertain.

3. Vmn has for the following two lines—कारस्करास्तु भमिनो नासिकान्ताः सुनर्मदाः

4. Mk—तथा कुरुमिनश्चैव ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तथा तु रसिताश्चैव ; Mts—तथा तैत्तिरिकाश्चैव ; Vy *b*—तथा तरुणाश्चैव, *c* (v. l.)—तथा तु रमिनश्चैव Tumbavana=Turnain in the Guna Dist. of M. P.

5. Mk—सर्वे चैव कटाक्षराः ; Vy *b*, Mts, Mk *c* (v. l.)—सर्वे कारस्करास्तथा ; Vy *acde*—सर्वे चैव परक्षराः, *c* (v. l.)—सर्वे चैव परस्कराः ; Bmd—सर्वे चैवापराक्षराः ; cf. Vmn—कारस्करास्तु भमिनः. Mk *d* has, after this, the following additional lines—कारस्करा लोहजंघा वाजेया राजभद्रकाः । तोसलाः कोसलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा ॥ तुपारास्तम्बुराश्चैव सर्वे चैव करस्कराः ॥ The second of the three lines is taken out of the following Section. The Kāraskaras are known from *Baudh. Dh. S.*, I, 2, 14—आरुट्टान् कारस्करान् पुण्ड्रान् सौवीरान् वंगकलिङ्गान् प्राणूनानिति च गत्वा पुनस्तोमेन यजेत सर्वपृष्ठया वा ॥ Dey's *Geog. Dict.* identifies Kāraskara with Karkal near Mangalore. But it is doubtful.

6. Mk—नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Vy, Bmd—नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Vy *e* (v. l.)—नासिकाद्याश्च ये चान्ये, नासिकाद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Mts *a*—वासिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये, *bc*—वासिक्याश्चैव ये चान्ये. Nāsikya=people of Nasik in Bombay State.

7. Mk, Vy *b*—ये चैवोत्तरनर्मदाः ; Bmd, Mts, Vy *cde* (v. l.)—ये चैवान्तरनर्मदाः ; Vy *ae*—ये चैवोत्तरनर्मदाः. Uttara-Narmada=people living on the northern bank of the Narmadā.

भारु (भृगु) कच्छाः समाहेयाः¹ सह सारस्वतैरपि² ।

कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च³ आनर्त्ताश्चावुदैः सह⁴ ॥

इत्येते अपरान्ताश्च⁵ शृणुध्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः⁶ ॥

VI

१. मलदाश्च कारुषाश्च⁸ मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह⁹ ।

1. Mk—भीरुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vy *acd*—भानुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Bmd Mts, Vy *e* (v. 1.)—भारुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vmn—दारुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vy *bc*—भानुकच्छाः समाहेयाः. The Prakritism in the form भारुकच्छ (Pāli भरुकच्छ) for the Sanskrit Bhṛgukaccha is interesting to note. Bhṛgukaccha=Broach. Māheya=people of the Mahi valley. Both the tracts are in Gujarat.

2. Mk, Vmn, Vy *b*—सह सारस्वतैरपि ; Mts—सह सारस्वतैस्तथा, Vy *acde*, Bmd—सहसा शाश्वतैरपि. Śārasvata=people of the Sarasvati (Sarsuti) valley in the Eastern Punjab or in Gujarat (cf. Jarrett, *An-i-Akabarī*, p. 229).

3. Mk—काश्मीराश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च ; Vy, Bmd—कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च ; Mts *a*—कच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्राः, *bc*—काच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्राः ; Vmn—वात्सीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च. Kacchiya=people of Kutch. Surāṣṭra=South Kathiawar.

4. Mk *acd*, Vmn—आवन्त्याश्चावुदैः सह, Mk *b*—अवन्त्याश्चावुदैः सह ; Vy *acde* (v. 1.)—अनर्त्ताश्चावुदैः सह ; Bmd, Vy *e*—आनर्त्ताश्चावुदैः सह ; Mts—आनर्त्ता अवुदैः सह ; Vy *b*—अनर्त्ता हुद्वुदैः (sic) सह. Ānarta=district round Dvārakā. Arbuda=Mount Abu in Rajasthan.

5. Mk, Vy *e* (v. 1.)—इत्येते ह्यपरान्ताश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—इत्येते सम्परीताश्च ; Mts—इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु. Vmn has rather freely—इत्येते पश्चिमामाशां स्थिता जानपदा जनाः.

6. Mk *acd*—शृणु विन्ध्यनिवासिनः, *b*—शृणु विन्ध्यनिवासिनः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शृणुध्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः ; Mts—शृणु ये विन्ध्यवासिनः.

7. Vy *b* omits several lines and makes the *janapadas* mentioned in the following two Sections as those belonging to the West. See p. 31, note 3.

8. Mk *a*—सरजाश्च करुषाश्च, *bcd*—सरजाश्च करुषाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—मालवाश्च करुषाश्च ; Vmn—कारुषाश्चैकलव्याश्च ; Vy *b*—मलदाश्च करुषाश्च. See p. 28, note 3. The Mālavas (Malloi of the Greeks) lived on the lower Irāvati (Rāvi) in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C. Later they are found settled in Rajputana and ultimately they gave their name to modern Malwa in Central India. Kārūṣa, which is also called Brhadgrha, is the same as the present Shahabad District of Bihar. The Maladas probably lived to the west of the Kārūṣas and to the east of Prayāga (Allahabad). Lama Tāranātha who locates a Mālava country near Prayāga seems to have confused the Maladas with the Mālavas of Western India on the strength of erroneous Puranic passages quoted in the present note. cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1068.

9. Mk—केरलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ; Vy *ac*—रोकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ; Bmd,

¹उत्तमर्णा(का ?) दशार्णश्च² भोजः किष्किन्धकैः सह³ ॥

तोशलः कोशलश्चैव⁴ त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा⁵ ।

Mts, Vmn, Vy *bed*—मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह. The name Mekala is still preserved in that of the present Maikal range which is the connecting link between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras and stretches from the Khairagarh area in M. P. to the Rewah region (Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 134). The Mekalas lived near the Amarkantak hills. Utkala was the western fringe of the Midnapur District and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

1. The following line is wrongly placed in Section V in Mk *d*.

2. Mk, Bmd, Vmn, Vy *d*—उत्तमर्णा दशार्णश्च ; Vy *ace*—उत्तमर्णा दशार्णश्च, *b*—उत्तमर्णा वशार्णश्च ; Mts—औण्ड्रा मापा दशार्णश्च. Daśārṇa formed parts of modern East Malwa (cf. the river of the same name at p.47, n.4) and the adjoining regions. It was also known as Ākara and had its capital at Vidiśā. The Uttamakās may be the Uttamabhadras of the Pushkar region.

3. Mk—भोज्याः किष्किन्धकैः सह ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—भोजः किष्किन्धकैः सह ; Vmn—गोप्ता किकरवैः सह. The Bhojas originally lived in Berar but later founded a kingdom in the Goa region. The Kiṣkindhakas may be the people of Kekind in Jodhpur (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 199, 208, 1009) or of the Ramayanic Kiṣkindhyā identified with the Raichur-Bellary area of Mysore and the adjoining regions. In any case, *Vindhya* is used in a wide sense.

4. Mk, Vmn *b*—तोशलः कोशलश्चैव ; Vy *acde*—तोसला कोसलाश्चैव ; Bmd—तोसलाः कौशलाश्चैव ; Vmn *a*—तोशला शोकलाश्चैव ; Mts *ac*—स्तोशला कोसलाश्चैव, *b*—स्तोशला कौसलाश्चैव ; Vy *b*—recognises कोसल only. Both the names could be spelt either with the dental or with the palatal sibilant. Tośala was no doubt the district round the city of Tośali (modern Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District, Orissa). In the early medieval period, the Tośala *janapada* is known to have been divided into Uttara-Tośala and Dakṣiṇa-Tośala. Kośala here is no doubt Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, identified with the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of M. P. and Orissa. See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 252, 452.

5. Mk *a*—त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा, *bed*—त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ; Vy—त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ; Bmd, Mts—त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ; Vmn—त्रैपुराः खेलिशस्तथा. The *Traipurās* were the people of Tripura or Tripurī, modern Tewar in the Jabalpur District. The *Vaidiśās* were the people of Vidiśā, modern Bescnagar near Bhilsa in M. P.

तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव (तुम्बानास्तुम्बवनाश्च?)¹ पटवो निषधैः सह² ॥

³अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च⁴ वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः⁵ ।

1. Mk *abc*—तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव, *d*—तुम्बरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव; Mts *a*—तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव, *bc*—तुम्बरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव; Vmn—तुम्बरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव; Vy *b*—थर्पुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव. One of the names appears to be a mistake for तुम्बवन, modern Tumain in the Guna Dist., M. P. The other locality may be Tummāna (=Tumān), 45 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur Dist., M. P.

2. Mk *a*—पटवो निषधैः सह, *bc*—पटवो नैषधैः सह, *d*—पटवो नैषधैः सह; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पटसुरा निषधैः सह; Vy *e* (v.l.)—पटसुरा नैषधैः सह; Mts *ab*—पद्गमा निषधैः सह, *c*—पद्गमा नैषधैः सह; Vmn *a*—बहेला निषधैः सह, *b*—बहेला नैषधैः सह; Vy *b*—पत्तुमानाः पधैः सह. The *Niṣadhas* are associated with the *Pāriyātra*. They probably lived about Nalapura, modern Narwar in the Shivapuri Dist., M. P. The other people's name and location are uncertain.

3. The following four lines are omitted in Vy *b*.

4. Mk *abcd*—अन्नजास्तुष्टिकाराश्च, *c* (v.l.)—अनूपास्तुण्डिकेशाश्च; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च; Vy *e* (v.l.)—अणुपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च; Mts—अरूपाः शौण्डिकेराश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. Anūpa was on the Narmadā with the city of Māhiṣmati (modern Māndhātā in the Nimār District, M. P.) as its capital. The Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavarīya, ruled at Māhiṣmati. Like the Bhojas, Vitihostras and Avantis mentioned in the Section, the Tuṇḍikeras were a branch of the Haihayas. According to the Purāṇas (Mts, 43, 48-49; Vy, 94, 51-52; Bmh, 13, 203-04; Pdm, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 12, 35-36; Hv, I, 33, 51-52), the Haihayas were subdivided into five clans, viz., Vitihostra (wrongly called वीरहोत्र in some texts), Bhoja, Avanti, Tuṇḍikera (called कुण्डिकेर, तौण्डिकेर and तुण्डिकेर in some texts) and तालजंघ. Pargiter (*AIHT*, p. 98, etc.) refers to the name of the Haihaya clan शार्याति read in some texts as सुरताः, सञ्जाताः, असंख्याताः, सुजाताः, etc. The Haihayas were themselves a branch of the Yādavas. See, e. g., Vsn, IV, Ch. II, Sections i ff.

5. Vy *acde*, Bmd—वीतिहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः; Mk—वीरहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः; Mts—वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः; Vmn—वीतिहोत्रास्त्ववन्तयः. Omitted in Vy *b*. The Avanti people lived in West Malwa and the Vitihostras probably on the Narmadā to the south of the Avantis.

एते जनपदाः सर्वे¹ विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः² ॥

VII

अतो देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि³ पर्वताश्रयिणश्च ये⁴ ।

निराहारा हंसमार्गाः⁵ कुरवस्तङ्गणाः खसाः⁶ ॥

कर्णप्रावरणाश्चैव⁷ हूणा दार्वाः सहहुकाः⁸ ।

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd—एते जनपदाः सर्वे; Mts—एते जनपदाः ह्याताः. Vmn has rather freely—सुकेशा विन्ध्यमूलस्थास्त्वमे जनपदा स्थि (b-स्मृ)तः

2. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः

3. Mk, Vy acde, Bmd, Mts—अतो देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि; Vmn—आद्यान् देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामः. The reference below is to the Himalayan peoples.

4. Mk, Vy acde, Bmd, Mts—पर्वताश्रयिणश्च ये; Vmn—पर्वताश्रयिणस्तुये

5. Mk—नीहारा हंसमार्गश्च; Vy acde, Bmd—निगर्हारा हंसमार्गाः; Mts—निराहाराः सर्वगाश्च; Vmn a—निराहारं हंसमार्गाः, b—निराहारा हंसमार्गाः.

The Hamsamārgas of the Himalayan region are also known from other passages; cf. below, Chapter III, Section VIII; also above, p. 26, note 8. They lived in North-West Kashmir. The name and location of the other people are uncertain.

6. Mk—कुरवो गुर्गणाः खसाः; Vy acde—क्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः खसाः, e (v.l.)—कुणपास्तङ्गणाः खसाः, क्षुपणास्तङ्गणास्त्रसाः, क्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः स्वसाः; Bmd—कुपथास्तङ्गणाः खसाः; Mts—कुपथा अपथास्तथा; Vmn—कुपथास्तङ्गणाः खसाः. These Kurus are doubtless the celebrated Uttarakurus living in the Himalayan region. The Khasas (identified with the modern Khakkas) lived about Kashmir. Mts, Vy and Bmd refer to a Himalayan locality called कुपथ or अपथ (cf. Chapter III, Section X, g). For the Taniganas, see above, p. 26, note 9.

7. Mk. कुन्तप्रावरणाश्चैव; Vy acde—कुशप्रावरणाश्चैव; Bmd, Vy b—कर्णप्रावरणाश्चैव; Mts, Vmn, Vy e (v.l.)—कुथप्रावरणाश्चैव. Both कुथप्रावरण and कर्णप्रावरण situated in the Himalayan region are elsewhere mentioned in Mts, Vy and Bmd (cf. Chapter III, Section X, g and h). Rām, IV, 40, 25 locates कर्णप्रावरण in the eastern direction, probably in the eastern Himalayas.

8. Mk a—ऊर्णा दार्वाः सकृत्रकाः; bcd—ऊर्णा दार्वाः सकृत्रकाः; Vy acde—हूणा दार्वाः सहहुकाः; Bmd—हूणदार्वाः बहूदकाः; Mts a—ऊर्णा दार्वाः समुद्गकाः, bc—ऊर्णा दार्वाः समुद्गकाः; Vmn—ऊर्णाः प्लुष्टाः सहहुकाः; Vy b—हूणा दार्वाः सहहुकाः; e (v.l.)—हूणा दार्वाः सहहुकाः, हूणा दार्वाः सहहुकाः. For the Hūṇas and Dārvas, see p. 27, note 2 above. For the Hūhukas of the Himalayan region, see Chapter III, Section X, h.

त्रिगर्ता मालवाश्चैव¹ किरातास्तामरैः (०स्तोमरैः ?) सह² ॥

VIII

Condensed List

(Vsn) II, ch. 3, vv. 14-17; (Krm) I, ch. 46 (47 in some texts), vv. 41-44; Bmh, 21, 15-17.

३तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चाला¹ मध्यदेशादयो जनाः⁵ ।

पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव⁶ कामरूपनिवासिनः⁷ ॥

पुण्ड्राः (पाण्ड्याः) कलिङ्गा मगधा (माहिषा)⁸ दाक्षिणात्याश्च कृत्स्नशः⁹ ।

तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः¹⁰ शूद्राभीरास्तथावुदाः¹¹ ॥

1. Mk ac, Vy—त्रिगर्ता मालवाश्चैव; Mk d—त्रिगर्ता गालवाश्चैव; Bmd—त्रिगर्ता मालयाश्चैव; Mts—त्रिगर्ता मण्डलाश्चैव. Vmn has rather freely—त्रिगर्ताश्च किराताश्च तोमराः शशिखाद्रिकाः. Trigarta=modern Jalandhar region. For the *Sapta-mālava* or seven localities called Mālava, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 492 n. Mālava in our text may be the same as the country of that name identified with the cis-Satlej districts of the Punjab together with some Himalayan territory.

2. Mk, Vy acde, Bmd—किरातास्तामरैः सह; Vy b—किरातास्तामरैः सह; Mts—किराताश्चामरैः सह. Kirātas=Himalayan mountaineers : cf. the name of modern Kirānti, etc. See p. 22, note 1. The reading तोमर (for तामर) is supported by some passages; cf. Chapter III, Section X, H. See also p. 26, n. 8 above.

9. 3. This later list is very carelessly compiled and probably had some mistakes even in the original draft.

4. Vsn, Krm—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः; Bmd—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः. See above, p. 21, note 2.

5. Vsn, Krm Bmh—मध्यदेशादयो जनाः. Madhyadeśa lay between the East Punjab and Eastern U.P. and between the East Punjab and the Oxus lay Udīcya.

6. Vsn, Krm, Bmh—पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव. Originally Prācya or Pūrva-deśa included the lands lying to the east of Eastern U.P.

7. Vsn, Krm, Bmh—कामरूपनिवासिनः

8. Vsn, Krm—पुण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधाः; Bmh—पौण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधाः. See above, pp. 29-30.

9. Vsn, Krm.—दाक्षिणात्याश्च कृत्स्नशः; Bmh—दाक्षिणात्याश्च सर्वशः. Dākṣiṇātya or Dakṣiṇāpātha lay to the south of the Vindhya or the Narmadā.

10. Vsn—तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः; Bmh—तथापरान्त्याः सौराष्ट्राः; Krm—तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्रः. Aparānta lay to the west of Malwa.

11. Vsn, Bmh, Krm ab (v.l.)—शूद्राभीरास्तथावुदाः; Krm bc—शूद्रा हीनास्तथावुदाः

मा(म)रुका मालवाश्चैव¹ पारियात्रनिवासिनः² ।

सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः³ शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः⁴ ॥

मद्रारामा (द्रकारा?) स्तथाम्बष्ठाः⁵ पारसीकादयस्तथा⁶ ॥

1. Vsn—कारुषा मालवाश्चैव; Krm a—मालका मालवाश्चैव, b—मालका मलपाश्चैव, v.l.—मालका मलयाश्चैव, c—मालका मलपाश्चैव; Bmh—मारुका मालवाश्चैव. Maruka = Maru or Marwar. See above, p. 26, note 2.

2. Vsn, Krm a—पारिपात्रनिवासिनः; Krm b—परियात्रनिवासिनः; Krm c, Bmh—पारियात्रनिवासिनः

3. Vsn, Krm—सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः; Krm b (v.l.)—सौवीराः सैन्धवाकूणाः, c (v.l.)—सौवीराः सैन्धवाकूणाः; Bmh—सौवीराः सैन्धवापस्ताः. See above, p. 24, notes 2 and 4.

4. Vsn, Bmh—शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः; Krm a—शाल्वाः कान्यनिवासिनः, b—माल्या वाल्यानिवासिनः, v.l., c (v.l.)—शाल्वाः कल्पनिवासिनः. See above, p. 21, note 3; p. 24, note 2.

5. Vsn, Bmh—मद्रारामास्तथाम्बष्ठाः; Krm a—मद्रारामास्तथैवान्धाः, b—मद्रारामास्तथैवान्धाः. See above, p. 21, note 4. For the Ambasthas living on the lower Chenab, see Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 206-07.

6. Krm—पारसीकास्तथैव च; Vsn, Bmh—पारसीकादयस्तथा. The Pārasikas (Persians) are not mentioned in the bigger list or in any work earlier than Mbh, VI, 9, 65-66, and Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, IV, 60. They are also mentioned in the Pādātādītaka-bhāṇa (5th century), the Mudrārākṣhaśa (c. 7th century) and the Gaudavaha (8th century). See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 326; *JRAS*, 1946, p. 51.

III PURANIC LIST OF RIVERS

For Introductory remarks and list of abbreviations, see above, pp. 17 ff.

TEXT

[Bmd, ch. 49, vv. 28-42; Krm, I, ch. 46 (ch. 47 in some versions), vv. 28-39; Mk, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 17-30; Mts, ch. 114, vv. 20-32; Vmn, ch. 13, vv. 20-33; Vy, ch. 45 (of Book I according to some versions; cf. also Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 357-39), vv. 94-107.]

I

¹पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यो² गङ्गा सिन्धुः सरस्वती³ ।

1. The following line is omitted in Krm. A little independence as regards the order of enumeration of the rivers issuing from the Himavat (Himālaya) is noticed in Mk and, to a greater degree with deliberate omissions and commissions, in Vmn. Mk has गङ्गा सरस्वती सिन्धुश्चन्द्रभागा तथा परा । यमुना च शतद्रुश्च वितस्तेरावती कुहुः ॥ गोमती धूतपापा (c-धृत०) च बाहुदा (d-व०) सदृशद्वती (d-च०) । विपाशा (b-सा०) देविका रङ्क्षुर्निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा ॥ कौशिकी चापगा विप्र हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ॥ Vmn has—सरस्वती पञ्चरूपा कालिन्दी च हिरण्वती । शतद्रुश्चन्द्रिका नीला वितस्तेरावती कुहुः ॥ मधुरा हाररावी च उशीरा धातुकी (b-०त०) रसा । गोमती धूतपापा च बाहुदा सा दृषद्वती ॥ निःस्वरा गण्डकी चित्रा कौशिकी तु बभूवरा । सरयूश्च सलोहित्या (b-१लौ०) हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ॥ Most of the Himalayan rivers are noticed by Al-Bīrūnī. Vide *infra*, p. 43, note ². Though he speaks of both Vy and Mts, possibly the names were quoted by him from the latter work with an amount of misunderstanding and confusion.

2. Vy, Bmd—[तैविमिश्रा जनपदा आर्यम्लेच्छाश्च (Vy e-०र्या०) नित्यशः ।] पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यः; Mts—[तैविमिश्रा जनपदा (bc-जा०) आर्या म्लेच्छाश्च सर्वतः ।] पिबन्ति बहुला नद्यः. Cf. p. 60, n. 2; p. 64, n. 3.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—गङ्गा सिन्धुः सरस्वती; Mk—गङ्गा सरस्वती सिन्धुः. Omitted in Krm. Some Mts versions read the names of the rivers in the second case-ending. It is well known that the Gaṅgā

शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च¹ यमुना सरयूस्तथा² ॥

is the Ganges and the Sindhu the Indus. The *Sarasvatī* rises in the Sirmur hills of the Siwalik range in the Himalayas and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badrī in the Ambala District, Punjab. It disappears once at Chalaaur but reappears at Bhavanipur; then it disappears at Balchappar but again appears at Bara Khera; next it is joined by the *Mārkaṇḍa* at Urnai near Pehoa and the united stream, still called *Sarasvatī*, ultimately falls into the Ghaggar which is believed to have borne the name *Sarasvatī* in ancient times. In the early Vedic period, the *Sarasvatī* probably flowed into the Arabian Sea. Later literature speaks of its disappearance at *Vinaśana* (near modern Sirsa) in *Kurukṣetra* or *Brahmāvarta* (in the Eastern Punjab) which is described as the land between the *Sarasvatī* and the *Dr̥ṣadvatī*. Cf. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या उत्तरेण दृषद्वतीम् । ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥ (*Mbh*, III, 83, 204-05); सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् । तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥ (*Manu*, II, 17). Vide *infra*, p. 41, note 4.

1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च; cf. Vmn—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रिका नीला. The *Śatadru* is the modern Satlaj. It is the Vedic *Śutudri* and the *Zaradros* or *Hesyrus* of the Classical writers. The *Chandrabhāgā* is the modern Chenab which is the same as *Asiknī* of the Vedic literature and the *Acesines* of the Classical authors. Ptolemy calls it *Sandabala* or *Sandabal*. The *Nīlā* referred to by Vmn reminds us of the name *Nīlāb* applied by the early Muslim writers to a part of the river Indus (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 84).

2. Vy *a*, Mts *a*—यमुना सरयूस्तथा; Bmd, Vy *cde*, Mts *b*—यमुना सरयूस्तथा; Krm *a*—सरयु यमुना तथा; *bc*—सरयूर्यमुना तथा; Mts *c*, Vy *e* (v.1.)—यमुना शरयूस्तथा. The *Yamunā* is the modern *Jumnā* (*Yamunā*) joining the Ganges near Allahabad. The *Sarayū* is the modern *Ghagra* or *Gogra* on which the ancient city of *Ayodhyā* (near *Fyzabad*) is situated. It rises in the Kumaon hills and is called *Sarayū*, *Ghagra* or *Devā* (after its junction with the *Kālinadī*). De
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इरावती वितस्ता च¹ विपाशा देविका कुहूः² ।

गोमती धृतपापा च³ बाहुदा च दृषद्वती⁴ ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts *a*—इरावती वितस्ता च ; Mts *bc*—
ऐरावती वितस्ता च. The Irāvati or Airāvati is the modern Rāvi
which was known to the Classical writers as Hydraotes. The
Vitastā is the modern Jhelam, the upper course of which is still
known by the old name. It was known to the Classical writers
as the Hydaspes or Bidaspes.

2. Vy *a*, Bmd—विपाशा देविका कुहूः; Krm, Mts *a*, Vy *cde*—
विपाशा देविका कुहूः; Krm *b* (v. l.) विपाशा देविका कुहूः ; Mts *bc*—
विशाला देविका कुहूः. The Vipāsā is the modern Beas, called the
Vipās in earlier literature and the Hyphasis or Bipasis in the
works of the Classical writers. The Devikā is the modern Deeg,
a tributary of the Rāvi. Another identification suggested by some
writers is that with the Devā, a name applied to the lower
course of the Sarayū. The Kuhū has been identified with the
modern Kabul river, called Kubhā in the *Rgveda* and Kophen,
Kophes or Koa by the Classical writers.

3. Mk *abd*, Vy *abc*, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—गोमती धृतपापा च; Vy
de—गोमती धृतपापा च; Mts—गोमती धृतपापा च; Mk *c*—गोमती धृतपापा च.
The river Gomati has to be identified with the Rgvedic Gomati
which is the modern Gomāl a western tributary of the Indus,
or with the modern Goomti which joins the Ganges below Benares.
There is another river of this name in the Kangra District,
Punjab. The Dhūtapāpā was a tributary of the Ganges in the
Banaras region. The name has been associated with Ahopāp Dhotāpā
on the Goomti, 18 miles south-west of Sultanpur in U.P.

4. Mk *abc*—बाहुदा सदृशद्वती, *d*—बहुदा च दृशद्वती; Vy, Bmd, Krm,
Mts—बाहुदा च दृषद्वती; Krm *b* (v. l.) Vy *e* (v. l.)—बहुदा च दृषद्वती;
Vmn—बाहुदा सा दृषद्वती. The Bāhudā has been identified by some
with the Dhavalā (modern Dhumela or Burhī-Rāptī), a tributary
of the Rāptī, and by others with the Rāmgaṅgā that joins the
Ganges near Kanauj. The river Dṛṣadvati is usually identified
with the Citang, Citrang or Cautang which runs parallel to the
Sarasvatī ; but some writers prefer its identification with the

कौशिकी च तृतीया तु² निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा³ ।

इक्षुर्लोहित्य इत्येता⁴

Rakshi that flows by the south-east of Thaneshvar. The view of certain earlier writers identifying the *Dr̥ṣadvatī* with the Ghaggar seems to be unjustifiable.

1. The following two lines are contracted into one in Krm—कौशिकी लोहिनी (*b* [v.l.], *c* [v. l.]—लोहिता) चेति हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः. Vmn and Mk arrange the names rather independently.

2. Vy, Bmd—कौशिकी च तृतीया तु; Mts—कौशिकी तु तृतीया च. Pargiter suggests the emendation—कौशिकी कस्तोया तु or कौशिकी च त्रिचोतास्तु. The *Kauṣikī* is no doubt, the modern *Kosi* which runs through Nepal and Tirhut and joins the Ganges below Patna; but originally the river seems to have passed through North Bengal to join the Brahmaputra. There is another *Kosi* (*Kauṣikī*) which flows by Almora and Ramnagar in North-Western U. P. *Tr̥ṭiyā* may be a mistake for *Karatoyā* the celebrated river of North Bengal. *Niścīrā* seems also to be a mistake for *Trisrotas*, the Sanskrit name of the Teestā in North Bengal. Agn (ch. 116, 7) seems to locate the rivers *Tr̥ṭiyā* and *Niścīrā* in the Gayā region; but the evidence is doubtful, and, moreover, in that case, they cannot be associated with the Himalayas. Cf. *infra*, note 3.

3. Mk, Vy, Bmd—निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा; Mts—निश्चला गण्डकी तथा; Vmn—निःस्वरा गण्डकी चित्रा. For *Niścīrā*, see remarks above, note 2. The *Gaṇḍakī* (modern *Gaṇḍak*) is the famous tributary of the Ganges and joins the river near Sonapur (Hariharakṣetra) in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.

4. Vy, Bmd—इक्षुर्लोहित इत्येताः; Mts *a*—इक्षुर्लोहितमित्येताः; *bc*—इक्षुर्लोहितमित्येताः; *c* (v. l.)—चङ्कुं लोहितामित्येताः. The name *Ikṣu* may indicate the *Ikṣumatī* (modern *Kālīnadi*, a tributary of the Ganges); but the form *Caṅku* as well as *Raṅkṣu* (or *Vaṅkṣu*) in Mk probably suggests that it is no other than the *Vakṣu* or *Oxus* (Amu Darya); cf. *Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa*, IV, 67, in Vallabha's commentary. The *Lohitya* or *Lauhitya* is the same as the Brahmaputra.

हिमवत्पादनिःसृता¹ ॥²

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः; Mts—हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः, c (v. 1.)—दिदमपानोति याः स्मरन्.

2. The following rivers are mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī (Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, Ch. 25) as issuing from the Himavat : 1. Sindh (Sindhu or Indus) or the river of Vaihand (ancient Udabhāṇḍa or Udahāṇḍa, modern Und near Attock), 2. Biyatta (Vitastā) or Jailam (Jhelam), 3. Gandrabbhāgā or Candrāha, 4. Biyāha (Vipāśā) to the west (sic. east) of Lahore, 5. Irāvati to the east (sic. west) of Lahore, 6. Śata-rudra or Śataldar (Śatadru or Satlaj), 7. Sarsat (Sarasvatī) flowing to the country of Sarsat (Sārasvata), 8. Jaun (Yamunā), 9. Gaṅgā, 10. Sarayū or Sarwa, 11. Devikā, 12. Kuhū, 13. Gomatī, 14. Dhūtapāpā, 15. Viśālā (cf. *Mts c, supra*, p. 41, note 2), 16. Bāhudāsa (sic. Bāhudā, with *sa* prefixed to the next name in the text consulted ; cf. *supra*, p. 41, note 4), 17. Kauśikī, 18. Nīścīrā, 19. Gandakī, 20. Lohitā, 21. Dr̥ṣadvatī. Other names of this list appear to have been wrongly taken mostly from that of the rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra (vide pp. 45-46). They are : 22. Tāmṛā Aruṇā (Tāmravarṇā ?), 23. Parṇāśā, 24. Vedasmṛti, 25. Vedāsini or Vidāsini (cf. *infra*, p. 45, note 1), 26. Candanā, 27. Kāwanā (same as Kawini, tributary of the Sarwa ?), 28. Pārā, 29. Carmanvatī, 30. Vidiśā, 31. Veṇumatī, 32. Śiprā that rises in the Pāriyātra and passes by Ujain (Ujjayinī), 33. Karatoyā, 34. Shmāhina (cf. *infra*, p. 45, note 4). Al-Bīrūnī further says. (*op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.), "In the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish (Kāpiśa), i.e. Kābul, rises a river which is called the Ghorvand on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents : 1. the river of the pass of Ghūzak; 2. the river of the gorge of Panchīr (Panjshir falling into the Ghorvand), below the town of Parvān (about 8 miles to the north of Chārikar) ; 3-4. the river Sharvat and the river Sāva, which latter flows through the town of Lambagā (Lampāka), i.e. Lamghan ; they join the Ghorvand at the fortress of Drūta ; 5-6. the rivers Nūr and Kīrāt.—Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorvand (Kābul) is a great river opposite the town of Purshā.

var (modern Peshāwar) being there called *the ford*, from a ford near the village of Mahanāra on the eastern bank of the river, and it falls into the river Sindh (Indus) near the castle of Bītūr, below the capital of al-Kandahār (Gandhāra), i.e. Vaihand (Und near Attock).—The river Biyatta (Vitastā), known as Jailam (Jhelam), from the city of this name on its western bank, and the river Candarāha (Candrabhāgā) join each other nearly fifty miles above Jāhrāvār (which together with Mūltān comprised the ancient Sauvīra country; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 300, 302), and pass along west of Mūltān (which was originally known as Kāśyapapura, next as Haṁsapura, then as Vegapura, afterwards as Sāmbapura and ultimately as Mūlāsthāna; cf. the views of Utpala; *loc. cit.*, p. 298).—The river Biyāh (Vipāsā) flows east of Mūltān, and joins afterwards the Biyatta (Vitastā) and Candarāha (Candrabhāgā).—The river Irāva (Irāvātī) is joined by the river Kaj which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhātul. Thereupon follows as the fifth, the river Śatladar (Śatadru).—After these five rivers have united below Mūltān at a place called Pañcanada, i.e. the meeting place of the five rivers, they form an enormous watercourse.....The Muslims call the river, after it has passed the Sindhī city Aror, as a united stream, the *river of Mihran*. Thus it extends.....enclosing in its course places like islands until it reaches al-Mansūra, situated between several of its arms, and flows into the ocean at two places, near the city of Loharānī, and more eastward in the province of Kacch at a place called Sindhusāgara, i.e. *the Sindh Sea*.—As the name *union of five rivers* (Pañcanada) occurs in this part of the world (the Punjab), we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the above-mentioned mountain chains (i.e. the mountain bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish), for the rivers which flow thence towards the north after having united near Tirmidh and having formed the river of Balkh, are called the union of *seven rivers* (cf. hapta-hindu of the ancient Iranians). The Zoroastrians of Sogdiana (Bukhara region) have confounded these two things; for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is *Sindh*, and its upper course Barīdīsh.....The river Sarsati (Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī, mod. Raunakshi) falls into the sea at the distance of

II

वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती¹ वृत्रघ्नी सिन्धुरेव च² ।

पर्णाशा चन्दना चैव³ सदानीरा मही तथा⁴ ॥

a bow-shot east of Somnāth.—The river Jaun (Yamunā) joins the Ganges below Kanoj, which lies west of it. The united stream falls into the great ocean near Gaṅgāsāgara.—Between the mouths of the rivers Sarsati and Ganges is the mouth of the river Narmadā which descends from the eastern mountains, takes its course in a south-western direction and falls into the sea near the town of Bahroj (Broach) nearly sixty *yajana* east of Somnāth.—Behind the Ganges flow the rivers Rahab (modern Rāmgaṅgā) and Kavīnī which join the river Sarva near the city of Bārī (to the east of the Ganges at a distance of three to four days' marches from Kanoj; cf. p. 199)".

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती; Krm *b* (v.l.), *c* (v.l.)—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदरता; Mts—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती. The Vedasmṛti has been identified with the modern Besulā in Malwa. For the Vetravati, vide *infra*, p. 46, note 3.

2. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—वृत्रघ्नी सिन्धुरेव च; Krm—वृत्रघ्नी त्रिदिवा तथा; Vy *b* recognises Vṛtraghnī (cf. Vārtaghnī in Km.; modern Vātrak, a tributary of the Sabarmati in Gujarāt) only. The Sindhu is no doubt the modern Kālīsindh, a tributary of the Jumna between the Chambal and the Betwa.

3. Mk. *abc*—वेष्वा सा नन्दनी चैव, *d*—वेष्वा सा नन्दना चैव; Vy *a*, Krm *ab* (v.l.) *c* (v. l.)—पर्णाशा चन्दना चैव; Bmd, Vy *cde*, Krm *bc*—पर्णासा चन्दना चैव; Mts—पर्णाशा नर्मदा चैव; Vmn *a*—पर्णाशा नन्दिनी चैव, *b*—पर्णासा नन्दिनी चैव; Vy *b*—पर्णाशा नन्दना चैव; Krm *b* (v. l.), *c* (v. l.)—पर्णासा बन्धना चैव, *b* (v. l.)—पर्णाशा बन्धना चैव. The Parnāsā is no other than the modern Banās, a tributary of the Chambal, in Rajasthan. *Candanā* is believed to have been another name of the Sābarmati.

4. Mk, Bmd, Vy *d* (v. l.)—सदानीरा मही तथा; Vy *acde*—सतीरा महती तथा, *b*—सद्दानारा मदी तथा (sic), *c* (v.l.)—सदा तीरा मही तथा; Krm *ab* (v. l.)—सदानीरा मनोरमा, *bc*—सचर्मण्यवती सुरा; Mts—कावेरी महती तथा; Vmn—पावनी च मही तथा The Mahī is no doubt the river of that name rising in Malwa and draining itself in the Gulf of Cambay. *Sadānīrā* cannot be satisfactorily identified.

¹पारा चर्मण्वती लूपी (?) ²विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि ³।

⁴शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च ⁵पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः ⁶॥

1. The following two lines have been contracted into one in Krm *bc*—विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः; *b* (v. l.)—चर्मण्वती तथा सूर्या विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि.

2. Mk *ac*—पारा चर्मण्वती तापी, *bd*—पारा चर्मण्वती लूपी; Bmd, Vy *acde*—पारा चर्मण्वती चैव; Vy *b*—पारा चर्मण्वती लूपा (?), *c* (v.l.)—पारा चर्मण्वती चैव; Krm—चर्मण्वती तथा दूर्या, *b* (v.l.)—चर्मण्वती तथा सूर्या; Mts—पारा च धन्वती रूपा, *c* (v.l.)—पारा चर्मण्वती रूपा. The Pārā may be the same as the Pārvatī which rises in Bhopal and is a tributary of the Chambal, while Charmanvatī is no other than the Chambal itself. The Chambal is a well-known tributary of the Jumna. The reading of the third name and its identification are uncertain.

3. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Krm—विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि; Mts—विदुषा वेणुमत्यपि; Vmn—विदिशा वेणुमत्यपि; Vy *b* recognises Vidiśā only. The river Vidiśā is the modern Bes or Besali which falls into the Betwa near Besnagar (ancient Vidiśānagarī). The Vetravatī is the modern Betwa which is a tributary of the Jumna.

4. This line is omitted in Krm *a* and Vy *b*.

5. Mk *abc*—शिप्रा ह्यवर्णी च तथा; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती च तथा; Vy *e* (v. l.), Mk *d*—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती च तथा; Mts—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च; Vmn—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती रम्या. The Śiprā is mentioned in literature as the river on which the celebrated city of Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh) was situated. The river Avantī rises near Mhow and flows into the Chambal. The Kuntī, otherwise called Āśvanadī or Āśvarathadī, is a small tributary of the Chambal (see Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v. *Kuntī-Bhoja*).

6. Mk *abc*, Bmd—पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः; Vy, Mk *d*—पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः; Mts—पारियात्राश्रिताः स्मृताः; Vmn—पारियात्रोद्भवाः स्मृताः. Pāriyātra or Pāripātra was the name applied to the Western Vindhya together with the Aravelly range.

III

¹शोणो महानदी चैव² नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिया³ ।

मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च⁴ चित्रकूटा तथैव च⁵ ॥

⁶तमसा पिप्पलश्रोणी⁷ करमोदा पिशाचिका⁸ ।

1. This line is omitted in Mts *ab*. For the first three lines, Krm reads rather freely—नर्मदा सुरसा शोणो दशार्णा च महानदी । मन्दाकिनी चित्रकूटा तामसी च पिशाचिका ॥

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts *c*—शोणो महानदश्चैव; Vmn—शोणो महानदी चैव. The *Ṣoṇa* is the celebrated Sone which rises in the Amarkantak range and drains itself into the Ganges not far from Patna. The ancient city of Pāṭaliputra stood at the junction of the *Ṣoṇa* and the Gaṅgā. The *Mahānadī* also rises from the same range and flows through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

3. Mk—नर्मदा सुरथाद्रिजा; Vy *acde*—नर्मदा सूमहा द्रुमा, *b*—नर्मदा सुरसा किर्वा (sic. क्रिया), *c* (v. l.), *e* (v. l.)—नर्मदा सुरहा द्रुमा; Bmd—नर्मदा सुवहा द्रुमा; Vmn—नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिया; Mts *c*—नन्दना सुकुशा क्षमा; cf. सुरसा शिवा in Grd, I, 55, 8. The Narmadā is the famous Narbādā (Nerbudda) which rises in the Amarkantak range and falls into the Arabian Sea. The reading of the other names and their identification are uncertain.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च: The Mandākinī (now called Mandākin) flows into the Paisuni near the Citrakūṭa hill, while the Daśārṇā is the modern Dhasan flowing past Saugor between the Betwa and the Ken.

5. Mk—चित्रकूटा तथापरा; Vy, Bmd, Mts—चित्रकूटा तथैव च; Vmn—चित्रकूटा हि देविका. The Citrakūṭa was either the same as the Mandākin or a part of it.

6. This line is omitted in Krm. A little freedom is noticed in some texts as regards the order of the names in the following two lines. Mk has—चित्रोत्पला सतमसा करमोदा पिशाचिका । तथान्या पिप्पलश्रोणीविपाशा (*d*—पिप्पल०) वञ्जुला नदी ॥ Mts has—तमसा पिप्पली श्येनी तथा चित्रोत्पलापि च । विमला चञ्चला चैव तथा च धूतवाहिनी ॥ Vmn has—चित्रोत्पला वै तमसा करमोदा (*b*—०तोया) पिशाचिका । तथान्या पिप्पलश्रोणी विपाशा वञ्जुलावती ॥

7. Vy *ade*, Bmd—तमसा पिप्पला श्रोणी; Mts—तमसा पिप्पली श्येणी; Vy *bc*—तमसा पिप्पला श्रोणी. The Tamasā is the modern Tons flowing into the Ganges below Allahabad. The Pippalaśronī may be the modern Paisuni or Parsaroni which is a tributary of the Jumna running between the Ken and the Tons.

8. Mk—करमोदा पिशाचिका; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—करतोया

चित्रोत्पला विपाशा च¹ मञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी² ॥

³शुनी लज्जा शुक्तिमती⁴ शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः⁵ ।

पिशाचिका; Vy *b*—करमोदा पिशाचिका (sic. पिशाचिका). Pargiter suggests the identification of the Karamodā with the modern Karamnāsā flowing into the Ganges above the Sone. The Piśāchikā cannot be identified.

1. Vy *acde*, Bmd—नीलोत्पला विपाशा च; Krm, चित्रोत्पला विशाला च, *b* (v. l.), *c* (v. l.)—चित्रोत्पला विपाशा च; Vy *b*—चित्रपला (sic. चित्रोत्पला) महावेगा, *c* (v. l.)—चितोत्पला विपाशा च. The Citrotpalā is a branch of the Mahānadi in Orissa or the Mahānadi itself below its junction with the Pyri. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Vy *acde*—जम्बुला बालुवाहिनी, *bc* (v. l.)—वञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी; Bmd—जम्बुला बालुवाहिनी; Krm—मञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी, *b* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.)—मञ्जुला रत्नवाहिनी.

3. The following line is omitted in Krm.

4. Mk—सुमेरुजा शुक्तिमती; Vy *acde*, Bmd—सितेरजा शुक्तिमती; Vy *b* has Śuktimatī only, *c* (v. l.)—सितेरजा मुक्तिमती; Mts *a*—शुक्तिमती शुनी लज्जा, *bc*—शुक्तिमन्ती शुनी लज्जा; Vmn—सत्सन्तजा शुक्तिमती. The Śuktimatī is the modern Ken, a tributary of the Jumna, flowing through Bundelkhand. On its bank stood a city of the same name (Pali *Sothivati*) which was the ancient capital of the Cedi people. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.

5. Mk *ab*—शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः, *c*—शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमः, *d*—सकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः; Vy *acde*—मक्रुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्, *c* (v. l.)—मक्षणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्, *e* (v. l.)—मक्रुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमा; Bmd—मक्षणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्; Mts *ab*—मुकुटा ह्रदिकापि च, *c*—मुकुटा ह्रदिकापि च; Vmn—चक्रिणी त्रिदिवा वसुः; Vy *b*—शक्रुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्. The Śakulī (Śakruli?) may be the Sakri which flows into the Seonath, a tributary of the Mahānadi. The reading of the other names and their identification are uncertain.

ऋक्षपादात् प्रसूतास्ता¹ नद्यो मणिनिभोदकाः² ॥³

study of water

1. Mk *ac* (v. 1.) *d*—ऋक्षपादप्रसूता वै; *bc*—स्कन्धपादप्रसूता वै;
Vy, Bmd—ऋक्षपादात् प्रसूतास्ताः; Krm—ऋक्षवत्पादजा नद्यः; Mts *ac*—
ऋक्षवन्तप्रसूतास्ताः; *b*—ऋष्यवन्तप्रसूतास्ताः; Vmn—ऋक्षपादप्रसूता च.
For the Rkṣavat, see below, note 3.

2. Mk—तथान्या वेगवाहिनी; Vy, Bmd—नद्यो मणिनिभोदकाः;
Krm—सर्वपापहरा नृणाम्; Mts—नद्योमलजलाः शुभाः; Vmn *a*—तथान्या
बलवाहिनी, *b*—तथान्या बलुवाहिनी (फल्गु०?).

3. It is to be noted that the short list in Section IX below (pp. 55-57) wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing not from the Rkṣavat but from the Vindhya. The name Rkṣavat was applied to a particular section of the range that was in a general sense called the Vindhya. While the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills running from Gujarat to the Gayā region and lying on both sides of the Narmadā, that of the Rkṣavat, when especially mentioned in literature, is always associated with the central part of the Narmadā valley, of which Māhiṣmatī (Māndhātā in the Nimār District of Madhya Pradesh, Maheśvar in the former Indore State according to some) was the most important city and Daśārṇā (see p. 47, n. 4) a notable river. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Rkṣavat, denotes the chain lying to the south of the Narmadā as suggested by Nilkaṇṭha who explains the passage *Vindhy-Arkṣavantāḥ = abhitaḥ* (i.e., 'lying between the Vindhya and the Rkṣavat') in the *Hv*, II, 38, 7 as *Vindhyasy = oltarata Rkṣavato dakṣiṇata ity = arthaḥ* (i.e., 'lying to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Rkṣavat'). Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 128. The Puranic texts quoted above (cf. pp. 47 ff.) would also suggest that the Rkṣavat was that part of the Vindhyan range which lies to the north of the Narmadā and runs from the Malwa region right up to the sources of that river as well as of the Mahānadi.

१तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या^२ शिप्रा च निषधावती^३ ।

वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव^४ शिनिवाहुः कुमुद्वती^५ ॥

1. In some texts slight independence is noticed in the order of the names contained in this line. Mk has—शिप्रा (*d*—क्षिप्रा) पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या तापी सनिषधावती (*d*—च निषधावती); Vmn has—शिवा पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या तापी सनिषधावती.

2. Vy *abde* (v.l.), Bmd, Krm, Mts—तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या; Vy *ce*—तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या. The Tāpī, otherwise called Tāptī, is the celebrated river that flows into the Arabian Sea. The Payoṣṇī has been identified by some scholars with the Pain or Paingāṅgā which is a tributary of the Godāvarī. The Nirvindhyā is the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal flowing between the Betwa and the Kālīsindh.

3. Vy *acde*, Bmd—मद्रा च निषधा नदी; Vy *b*—सिर्वा (sic. सिप्रा) च निषधा नदी; Krm—शीघ्रोदा च महानदी; Mts *a*—क्षिप्ता च ऋषभा नदी, *bc*—क्षिप्रा च ऋषभा नदी. Mk has *Śīprā* (*d*—*Kṣīprā*) and Vmn *Śivā* for *Madra* (Bmd and Vy with the exception of *b*), *Śighrodā* (Krm) and *Kṣīptā* or *Kṣīprā* (Mts). The *Śīprā* passed by the ancient city of Ujjayinī. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.

4. Mk *ac*, Vy *abce* (v.l.), Bmd, Krm *a*—वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव; Vy *de*—वेन्वा वैतरणी चैव; Krm *bc*—विन्ना वैतरणी चैव, *b* (v.l.) *c* (v.l.)—वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव, चिन्ता वैतरणी चैव; Mts, Vmn *b*—वेणा वैतरणी चैव; Vmn *a*—वणा (sic. वेणा) वैतरणी चैव; Mk *bd*—वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव. The Venṇā may be the Waingāṅgā, a tributary of the Godāvarī. Pargiter thinks that Venṇā is the Waingāṅgā together with the Prāṇhitā. The Vaitaraṇī seems to be the celebrated river of that name flowing through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

5. Mk *abc*—सिनीवाली कुमुद्वती, *d*—सिनीवाली कुमुद्वती; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शिनिवाहु कुमुद्वती; Krm—वलाका च कुमुद्वती; Mts—विश्वमाला कुमुद्वती; Vmn—सिनीवाहुः कुमुद्वती; Vy *b*—शिनिहाहुः कुमुद्वती, *c* (v.l.)—शिनिवाहुः कुमुद्वती. The identification of the Kumudvatī and the reading of the other name are uncertain.

ब्रह्माणी च महागौरी¹ दुर्गा चान्तःशिला तथा² ।

विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्ता³ नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः⁴ ॥⁵

V

गोदावरी भीमरथी⁶ कृष्णा वेण्वा च वञ्जुला ।⁷

1. Mk—करतोया महागौरी; Vy *a*—तोण्वा चैरमहागौरी; Vy *cde*, Bmd, Krm *a*, Mts—तोया चव महागौरी; Vy *b*—तोवा (sic. तोया) चैव महागौरी; Krm *bc*—तथा चैव महागौरी; Vmn—तोया रेवा महागौरी; cf. ब्रह्माणी च महागौरी दुर्गामपि च भारत in *Mbh*, VI, 9,33. The Brahmanī seems to be the same as the Brāhmaṇī river flowing through Orissa. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Mk *abc*—दुर्गा चान्तःशिरा तथा, *d*—दुर्गा चान्तःशिवा तथा; Vy, Bmd, Krm—दुर्गा चान्तःशिला तथा; Mts—दुर्गमा तु शिला तथा; Vmn—दुर्गन्धा वा शिला तथा; cf. दुर्गा चित्रशिलां चैव in *Mbh*, VI, 9,30. It is to be noted that *Mbh* mentions Durgā once in relation to Mahāgaurī (cf. note 1 above) and again in connection with Citraśilā (sic. *c* = *Antaśsilā*) probably due to confusion. The rivers cannot be identified.

3. Mk, Krm *a*, Mts—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्ताः ; Vy, Bmd, Vmn—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूताश्च ; Krm *bc*—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्तु. For the Vindhya, cf. note 1 above and p. 49, note 3.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Vmn—नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः; Krm—सद्यः पापहरा नृणाम्, *b* (v. l.), *c* (v. l.) सद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः; Mts.—सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः; *c* (v. l.)—नद्यः शीतजलाः शुभाः.

5. Note that the short list in Section IX below (pp. 55-57) wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing from the Rkṣavat and not from the Vindhya. Vide p. 49, note 3 above.

6. Mk *abc*—गोदावरी भीमरथी; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn, Mk *d*, Krm *c*—गोदावरी भीमरथी; Krm *ab*—गोदावरी भीमरक्षी. The Godāvarī, still known by its ancient name, rises in the Western Ghats and flows through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Bhīmarathī or Bhīmarathā is the modern Bhīmā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā.

7. Mk *ac*—कृष्णवेण्वा तथा परा, *bd*—कृष्णा वेण्या तथा परा; Vy *acde*, Bmd—कृष्णा वेण्यथ वञ्जुला; Krm *a*—कृष्णा वेणा च वैश्यता, *bc*—कृष्णा वेणा च वैश्यता, *b* (v. l.)—कृष्णा वेणी च पासरी; Mts—कृष्णवेणी च वञ्जुला; Vmn *a*—कृष्णवेण्या सरिद्धती, *b*—कृष्णा वेण्या सरिद्धती; Vy *b*—

तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा¹ बाह्या कावेरी चैव तु² ॥
दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु³ सह्यपादाद्विनिःसृताः⁴ ॥

VI

कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णी⁵ पुष्पजा चोत्पलावती⁶ ।

कृष्णा वैष्णवा सवञ्जुला. The Kṛṣṇā is still known by its ancient name and flows from the Western Ghats through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Venvā is the modern Venā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā, the combined stream of the two rivers being often mentioned as Kṛṣṇavenā or Kṛṣṇavenī. The Vañjūlā is no other than the modern Mañjirā which is a southern tributary of the Godāvarī.

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा; Vmn—विशमद्री सुप्रयोगा. The Tuṅgabhadra is a well-known tributary of the Kṛṣṇā; But the Suprayogā cannot be identified.

2. Mk—बाह्या कावेर्यथापगा; Vy acde, Bmd—कावेरी च तथापगा; Krm—कावेरी च द्विजोत्तमाः; Mts—बाह्या कावेरी चैव तु; Vmn—बाह्या कावेरिरेव च; Vy b—पाजय (sic. बाह्या) कावेरी चैव तु. The Kāverī is the celebrated holy river of the southernmost part of India. It is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy as Khaberos rising from the Adeisathron mountain range. The other river cannot be identified.

3. Mk abc—विन्ध्य (sic. सह्य०) पादविनिष्क्रान्ता, dh (v. l.)—सह्यपादविनिष्क्रान्ता; Vy, Bmd, Mts a, Krm—दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु; Mts bc—दक्षिणापथनद्यस्ताः; Vmn—एताश्चापि महानद्यः, b—दुग्धोदा नलिनी चैव वारिसेना कलस्वना । एताश्चापि महानद्यः. Sahya is the name applied to that part of the Western Ghats which lies to the north of the Travancore hills. For the spurious addition of a line in Vmn b, cf. JRASB., Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 44, note 3; p. 45, note 5, etc.

4. Mk—इत्येताः सरिदुत्तमाः; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Krm bc—सह्यपादाद्विनिःसृताः; Krm a—सह्यपादविनिःसृताः; Vmn—सह्यपादविनिर्गताः.

5. Mk, Vy a, Krm a, Mts, Vmn—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णी; Krm bc—ऋतुमाला ताम्रवर्णी; Bmd, Vy bcde (v.l.)—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णी; Vy e—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णी. The Kṛtamālā is no other than the modern Vaigai running past Madurai (cf. Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Ch. IX). The Tāmraparnī is now known as Tāmbravari which combines its stream with the Chittar in the Tirunelveli District of Madras.

6. Mk—पुष्पजा सूतपलावती; Vy, Bmd, Krm a—पुष्पजात्यु-

¹मलयाभिजाता नद्यः² सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः³ ॥

VII

⁴त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च⁵ इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या⁶ ।

त्पलावती; Mts—पुष्पजा ह्यत्पलावती ; Vmn—वञ्जुला चोत्पलावती ; Krm. *b*—पुष्पवत्युत्पलावती, *c*—पुष्पवत्युत्पलावती. These rivers cannot be identified.

1. The following line is omitted in Vmn together with the two lines in Section VII following. Thus the Vmn text would make the rivers mentioned in Section VI flow from the Śuktimat mountain (cf. Section VIII below) apparently through mistake.

2. Mk—मलयाद्रिसमुद्भूताः, Vy—मलयाभिजातास्ता नद्यः ; Bmd—मलयाभिजाता नद्यः ; Krm—मलयान्निःसृता नद्यः ; Mts *a*—मलयप्रसूता नद्यः ; *bc*—मलयप्रसूता नद्यस्ताः. Malaya (derived from the Dravidian word *malai* meaning 'hill') was the name applied to the Travancore hills and the southernmost part of the Western Ghats.

3. Mk—नद्यः शीतजलास्त्विमाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः ; Krm—सर्वाः शीतजलाः स्मृताः.

4. The following two lines, as already indicated above (note 1), are omitted in Vmn and are represented in Krm by one line reading ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा च गन्धमादनगामिनी without any reference to the range from which the rivers spring. Thus the Krm text would wrongly represent the rivers mentioned in Section VII as issuing from the Śuktimat (see Section VIII).

5. Mk—पितृसोमर्षिकुल्या च ; Vy *acd*—त्रिसामा ऋतुकुल्या च, *b*—त्रिसागा ऋषिकुल्या च, *c*—त्रिसामा ऋतुकुल्या च ; Bmd—त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च ; Krm—ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा च ; Mts—त्रिभागा ऋषिकुल्या च. The R̥ṣikulyā, still bearing its ancient name, flows into the Bay of Bengal near Berhampur on the South-Eastern Railway in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The other river cannot be satisfactorily identified.

6. Mk—इक्षुका त्रिदिवा च या ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या ; Mts—इक्षुदा त्रिदिवाचला ; Vy *b*—इक्षुला त्रिदिवायना. Cf. त्रिदिवाभिधुलां क्रिमिम् in *Mbh*, VI, 9, 17.

¹लाङ्गलिनी वंशधरा² महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः³ ॥

VIII

⁴ऋषिकुल्या कुमारी च⁵ मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी⁶ ।

1. Mts reads for this line rather freely—ताम्रपर्णी तथा मूली शवरा (c—शवरा) विमला तथा । महेन्द्रतनयाः सर्वाः प्रख्याताः शुभगामिनीः ॥ It may be noted that *śubha-gāminīḥ* does not suit the context. Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff.

2. Mk *ac*—लाङ्गलिनी वंशकरा, *bd*—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशकरा ; Vy *abd*, Bmd—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशधरा ; Vy *ce*—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशधरा. The Lāṅgulinī is the modern Lāṅguliya running past Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) in the District of that name in Andhra Pradesh. The Varṇśadharā (°dhārā), which is still known by the old name, runs past Kalingapatam near Chicacole.

3. Mk—महेन्द्रप्रभावाः स्मृताः ; Vy, Bmd—महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः. Mahendra was the name applied to the Eastern Ghats. A small river passing by Parlakimedi is called Mahendratanaṇyā, though the said expression in our text describes the rivers as sprung from the Mahendra.

4. Vmn contracts the two following lines into one—शुनी चैव सुदामा च शुक्तिमत्प्रभवास्त्विमाः (*b*—शक्तिमत्), while Krm reads rather freely—क्षिप्रा *b* (v. l.—*रूपा*) पलासिनी चैव ऋषीका वंशधारिणी (*b* v.l., *c* v.l.—वलकारिणी, रसकारिणी) । शुक्तिमत्पादसञ्जाताः सर्वपापहरा नृणाम् ॥

5. Mk—ऋषिकुल्या कुमारी च ; Vy *acde*—ऋषीका सुकुमारी च, *b*—ऋषीका सुकुमारी च ; Bmd—ऋषिका सुकुमारी च ; Mts—काशिका सुकुमारी च. Cf. कुमारीमृषिकुल्याञ्च in Mbh, VI, 9, 36, and note that in this case at least Mk seems to preserve the original reading (cf. p. 57, note 3 below). Raychaudhuri's identification of Kumārī with the river of the same name in the Mānbhūm District in South Bihar seems to be quite probable in view of the plausibility of his identification of the *kula-parvata* called Śuktimat with the hills of Eastern India extending from Chhattisgarh to the Santal Parganas (see p. 55, note 2 below). The Rṣikulyā may be no other than the Koel in Chhota Nagpur. Another Rṣikulyā is no doubt the Kiul, a tributary of the Ganges.

6. Mk. Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी ; Vy *b*—बालुका मन्दवाहिनी ; cf. Krm—गन्धमादनगामिनी and Mbh, VI, 9, 33—मन्दगां मन्दवाहिनीम्. The rivers cannot be identified.

कूपा पलाशिनी चैव¹ शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः² ॥

IX

[Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 9-13 ; Bmh, ch. 19, vv. 10-14 ; cf. Sv, Dharmasamhitā, ch. 34. vv. 9-12 ; Agn, ch. 118, vv. 6-8]

³शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागाद्या⁴ हिमवत्पादनिर्गताः⁵ ।

वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याश्च⁶ पारियात्रोद्भवा मुने⁷ ॥

1. Mk *abc*, Vy *e* (v. 1.)—कूपा पलाशिनी चैव ; Mk *c* (v. 1.)—कुशा पलाशिनी चैव, *d*—कुशा पलाशिनी चैव ; Vy *acde*—कूपा पलाशिनी चैव *b*—किर्पा (sic. कूपा) पलाशिनी चैव ; Bmd—कूपा पलाशिनी चैव ; Krm—क्षिप्रा पलाशिनी चैव ; Mts—कूपा च पालिनी चैव. Raychaudhuri identifies the Kūpā with the modern Kopā, a tributary of the Bāblā in Eastern India, and the Palāśinī with the modern Parās, a tributary of the Koel in Chota Nagpur. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Mk *abc*, Vy, Bmd—शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Mk *b*—शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Mts—शुक्तिमन्तात्मजास्तुताः. The name of the Śukti-mat is preserved in that of the Sakti hills in Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, and possibly in that of the Suktel river which joins the Mahānadi near Sonapur in Orissa. The name Śuktimat was probably applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Riagarh, M. P., to the Dalma hills in Mānbhūm drained by the Kumārī and perhaps even to the hills in the Santal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

3. This line is omitted in Sv. and Agn.

4. Vsn, Bmh—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागाद्याः (see p. 40, note 1 above).

5. Vsn—हिमवत्पादनिर्गताः ; Bmh—हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः (see p. 43, note 1 above).

6. Vsn—वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याश्च ; Bmh—वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याः ; Sv, Agn—वेदस्मृतिमुखा नद्यः (see p. 45, note 1 above).

7. Vsn—पारिपात्रोद्भवा मुने ; Bmh, Sv—पारियात्रोद्भवा मुने ; Agn—पारिपात्रोद्भवास्तथा (see p. 46, note 6 above).

¹नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च नद्यो विन्ध्याद्विनिर्गताः³ ।

⁴तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः⁵ ॥

⁶गोदावरीभीमरथीकृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा⁷ ।

सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः स्मृताः पापभयापहाः⁸ ॥

⁹कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी प्रमुखा मलयोद्भवाः¹⁰ ।

1. For the following line, Sv has—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च सन्त्यन्याश्च सहस्रशः । विन्ध्योद्भवा महानद्यः सर्वपापहराः शुभाः ॥ Agn has—विन्ध्याच्च नर्मदाद्याः स्युः सह्यात् (sic. ऋक्षात्) तापी पयोष्णिका.
2. Vsn—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च ; Bmh—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च (see p. 47, note 3 above).
3. Vsn—नद्यो विन्ध्याद्विनिर्गताः ; Bmh—नद्यो विन्ध्यविनिर्गताः. Note that the source of the Narmadā group of rivers is actually the Ṛkṣavat and not the Vindhya ; vide p. 49, note 3 above.
4. For the following line, Bmh has—तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्या-कावेरीप्रमुखा नदीः । ऋक्षपादोद्भवा ह्येताः श्रुताः पापं हरन्ति याः ॥ For the wrong *vibhakti* in *nadiḥ*, see p. 54, note 1 above. Note that the Tāpī and Kāverī are wrongly grouped together as rivers issuing from the Ṛkṣavat (see p. 50, note 2 ; p. 51, note 3 ; p. 52, note 4 above). This line is omitted in Sv.
5. Vsn—तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः. Note that these rivers actually flow from the Vindhya and not from the Ṛkṣavat. See p. 49, note 3 ; p. 51, note 5 above.
6. For the following two lines, Sv has—गोदावरीभीमरथीतापी-प्रमुखतोयगाः । विन्ध्याद्विनिर्गताः पुण्याः स्नानात् पापभयापहाः ॥ सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा ॥
7. Vsn, Bmh—गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा ; Agn—गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा.
8. Vsn, Bmh—सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः स्मृताः पापभयापहाः.
9. Agn has rather freely—मलयात् कृतमालाद्यास्त्रिसामाद्या महेन्द्रजाः । कुमाराद्याः शुक्तिमतो हिमाद्रेश्चन्द्रभागका ॥
10. Vsn, Bmh—कृतमालाताम्रपर्णीप्रमुखा मलयोद्भवाः.

त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्याद्या¹ महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः² ॥

ऋषिकुल्याकुमार्याद्याः³ शुक्तिमत्पादसम्भवाः⁴ ॥⁵

X

[Bmd, 51, vv. 40-60 ; Mts, ch. 121, vv. 39-51 ; Vy, ch. 47, vv. 38-48 ; cf. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 24-62]

1. Vsn—त्रिसामा चार्ण्यकुल्याद्याः ; Bmh—त्रिसान्ध्य ऋषिकुल्याद्याः ; Sv—त्रियामा ऋषिकुल्याद्याः (see p. 53, note 5 above).

2. Vsn, Bmh ; Sv—महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः (see p. 54, note 3 above).

3. Vsn, Sv—ऋषिकुल्याकुमार्याद्याः ; Bmh—ऋषिकुल्याकुमाराद्याः (see p. 54, note 5 above).

4. Vsn, Sv, Bmd—शुक्तिमत्पादसम्भवाः (see p. 55, note 2 above).

5. Grd (I, ch. 56, 8-10) reads rather freely—वेदस्मृतिर्नर्मदा च वरदा सुरसा शिवा । तापी पयोष्णी सरयूः कावेरी गोमती तथा ॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेणी महानदी । केतुमाला ताम्रपर्णी चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती ॥ ऋषिकुल्या च कावेरी मर्त्यगङ्गा पयस्विनी । विदर्भा च शतद्रुश्च नद्यः पापहराः शुभाः ॥ Bgvt (V, ch. 19, section 17) has in prose—चन्द्रवशा ताम्रपर्णा अवटोदा कृतताला वैहायसी कावेरी वेण्वा पयस्विनी शर्करावर्ता तुङ्गभद्रा कृष्णवेण्वा भीमरथी गोदावरी निविन्ध्या पयोष्णी तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा चर्मण्वती अन्धः शोणश्च नदी महानदी वेदस्मृति ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा कौशिकी मन्दाकिनी यमुना सरस्वती दृशद्वती गोमती सरयुरोषवती पृष्ठवती सप्तवती सुषोमा शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा मरुद्वधा वितस्ता असिक्नी विश्वेति महानद्यः ॥ Cf. Km. (pp. 93-94): (a) पूर्वदेश—शोणलौहित्यौ नदी गङ्गाकरतोयाकपिशद्याश्च नद्यः । (b) दक्षिणापथ—नर्मदातापीपयोष्णीगोदावरीकावेरीभैमरथीवेण्वाकृष्णवेण्वावज्जुरातुङ्गभद्राताम्रपर्ण्युत्पलावतीरावणगङ्गाद्या नद्यः । (c) पश्चाद्देश—सरस्वतीश्वभ्रवतीवार्तन्नीमहीहिडिबाद्या नद्यः । (d) उत्तरापथ—गङ्गासिन्धुसरस्वतीशतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागायमुनेरावतीवितस्ताविपाशाकुहूदेविकाद्या नद्यः । The Kapiśā is the modern Kaśāi running through the Midnapur Dist., West Bengal. Śvabhṛavati=mod. Śābarmatī. For longer lists of rivers, see Mbh, VI, ch. 9, 14-36; *Varāha Purāṇa*, ch. 85, etc.

A

नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः¹ प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा² ।
 नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव³ पावनी चैव प्राग्गता⁴ ॥
 सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च⁵ प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः⁶ ।
 सप्तमी त्वनुगा तासां⁷ दक्षिणेन भगीरथम्⁸ ॥
 तस्माद्भागीरथी या सा⁹

1. Vy *adc*, Bmd—नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः, *c*—नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः ; Mts—स्रोतांसि त्रिपथायास्तु. Note that Al-Bīrūnī utilised, in regard to this section, the text of Mts; therefore here we shall have to speak of Mts *d* instead of Vy *b*. Thus Vy, when unspecified, would indicate here all the versions excepting Vy *b*:

2. Vy, Bmd—प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा ; Mts—प्रत्यपद्यन्त सप्तधा.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव ; Mts *abc*—नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव.

4. Vy *a*—पावनी चैव प्राग्गता ; Vy *cde*—पावनी चैव प्राग्गता ; Mts—पावनी चैव प्राच्यगा.

5. Vy, Mts, Bmd—सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च.

6. Vy, Bmd—प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ; Mts—तिस्रस्ता वै प्रतीच्यगाः.

7. Vy, Mts—सप्तमी त्वनुगा तासां ; Bmd—सप्तमी हि समानीता.

8. Vy *acd*—दक्षिणेन भागीरथी ; Vy *e*, Mts—दक्षिणेन भगीरथम् ;

Bmd भगीरथमहात्मना.

9. Vy *a*—अस्माद् भागीरथी या सा, *cde*, Bmd—तस्माद् भागीरथी या सा ; Mts—तस्माद् भागीरथी सा वै. For these seven rivers, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 43, 11-14 ; 44, 6) : विससर्ज ततो गङ्गां हरो विन्दुसरः प्रति । तस्यां विसृज्यमानायां सप्तस्रोतांसि जज्ञिरे ॥ ह्लादिनी पावनी चैव नलिनी च तथैव च । तिस्रः प्राचीं दिशं जग्मुर्गङ्गाः शिवजलाः शुभाः ॥ सुचक्षुश्चैव सीता च सिन्धुश्चैव महानदी । तिस्रश्चैता दिशं जग्मुः प्रतीचीन्तु दिशं शुभाः ॥ सप्तमी चान्वगात्तासां भगीरथरथन्तदा ।.....त्रीन् पथो भावयन्तीति तस्मात् त्रिपथगा स्मृता ॥ Of the seven streams, there is no difficulty about the identification of the Gaṅgā or Bhāgīrathī which is no other than the Ganges and of the Sindhu which is the Indus. The western stream Cakṣu is also apparently

प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम् ¹ ॥

सप्तैता भावयन्तीह ² हिमाह्वं वर्षमेव तु ³ ।

प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः ⁴ शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः ⁵ ॥

the same as Vakṣu or Vamṣu, i.e. the Oxus or Amu Darya, while the second western river called Sitā may be no other than the Jaxartes or Syr Darya. As the eastern stream Hlādinī or Hrādinī is said to have run through the country of the Kirātas, who were hill-men inhabiting the eastern Himalayas, this river may be tentatively identified with the upper Brahmaputra. Indradvīpa, through which the other eastern river called Pāvanī passed, is identified by some scholars with Burma. Cf. subsection G below. See also the note in the same subsection on Vetrapatha and Śaṅkupatha (in Suvar-nabhūmi) through which the Pāvanī is said to have passed. This river may thus be tentatively identified with the Irawadi. The third eastern stream called Nalinī cannot be identified; but it is said to have entered into the sea in the Śaimi maṇḍala which reminds us of Siam. The name of Siam (Syāma-ratṭha), which is unconnected with Sanskrit śyāma, is derived from that of a tribe called in Chinese Sien, Burmese Shan, Malayan Syam, Annamite Xiem and Cham Syām. The Nalinī may thus be tentatively identified with the Salween or the Mekong. It must be remembered that the theory attributing the origin of all the seven rivers to the same lake in the Himalayas has to be regarded as a mere flight of fancy. The lists of countries washed by the rivers do not appear to be always accurate.

1. Vy, Mts a, Bmd—प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम् ; Mts bc—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम् .

2. Vy, Bmd—सप्तैता भावयन्तीह ; Mts—सप्त चैता प्लावयन्ति.

3. Vy, Bmd—हिमाह्वं वर्षमेव तु ; Mts a—वर्षन्ति हिमसाह्वयम्, bc—वर्षं तु हिमसाह्वयम्. The Hima varṣa was otherwise called the Haimavata or Bhārata varṣa (Bmd, I, 33, 55, etc.) lying between the Himalayas and the sea.

4. Vy, Bmd—प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः ; Mts—प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्तु.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः.

नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो¹ म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः² ।

³उपगच्छन्ति ताः सर्वा⁴ यतो वर्षति वासवः⁵ ॥

B

सिरीन्धान् कुकुरांश्चीनान्⁶ वर्वरान् यवनान् शकान्⁷ ।

रुषाणांश्च कुणिन्दांश्च⁸ अङ्गलोकवरांश्च यान्⁹ ॥

कृत्वा द्विधा हिमवन्तं¹⁰ सीतागात् पश्चिमोदधिम्¹¹ ॥

1. Vy *a*—नानादेशान् भावयन्तो, *d*—नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो ; Bmd, Vy *ce*—नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो ; Mts—तान् देशान् प्लावयन्ति स्म.

2. Vy, Mts, Bmd—म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः ; cf. p. 64, note 3 below, and p. 39, note 2 above.

3. The following line is omitted in Mts.

4. Vy, Bmd—उपगच्छन्ति ताः सर्वाः .

5. Vy, Bmd—यतो वर्षति वासवः.

6. Vy—सिरीन्धान् कुन्तलांश्चीनान् ; Mts *abc*—सशैलान् कुकुरान् रौध्रान् ; Bmd—सिरीन्धान् कुकुरांश्चीनान् ; Mts *d*—सलिलान् कर्तु-वांश्चीनान्. For the Cīnas, see above p. 25, note 6; below, p. 61, n. 1.

7. Vy—वर्वरान् यवसान् द्रुहान् ; Bmd—वर्वरान् यवनान् द्रुहान् ; Mts *ab*—वर्वरान् यवसान् खसान्, *c*—वर्वरान् यवनान् खसान्, v. 1.—वर्वरान् यवनाञ्छकान्, *d*—वर्वरान् यवसान् ब्रह्मान्. For the Varvaras and Yavanas, see above p. 24, note 1, p. 25, note 5. The original home of the Śakas was the valleys of the Jaxartes and Oxus.

8. Vy, Bmd—रुषाणांश्च कुणिन्दांश्च ; Mts *abc*—पुलिकांश्च कुलथांश्च, पुष्करांश्च कुलतांश्च. For the Kuṇindas, see above p. 24, note 3, although the people indicated here must have lived in Central Asia. The Ruṣāṇas were the people of Roshan in the Tadzhik Republic.

9. Vy, Bmd—अङ्गलोकवरांश्च ये ; Mts *abc*—अङ्गलोकयान् वरांश्च यान्, *d*—मङ्गलकवरांश्च यान्. See above p. 25, note 5.

10. Vy—कृत्वा द्विधा सिन्धुमेरुं ; Bmd—कृत्वा द्विधा सिन्धुमेरुं ; Mts *abc*—कृत्वा द्विधा हिमवन्तं, *d*—कृत्वा द्विधा सङ्गवन्तं.

11. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—सीतागात् पश्चिमोदधिम् ; Mts *abc*—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम् .

C

अथ चीनमहर्षचैव¹ तङ्गणान् सर्वशूलिकान्² ।

साध्रास्तुपारान् लम्पाकान्³ पल्लवान् पारदान् शकान्⁴ ॥

एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः⁵ प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्⁶ ॥

D

दरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान्⁷ गान्धारान् औरसान् कुहन्⁸ ।

शिवपौरान् इन्द्रमरून्⁹ वसातींश्च विसर्जयान्¹⁰ ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts *ad*—अथ चीनमहर्षचैव; Mts *bc*—अथ वीर-महर्षचैव. For the Cīna desert, cf. above, p. 25, n. 6; p. 60, n. 6.

2. Vy *ac*, Bmd—तङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान्, *cd*—तङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान्, *e* (v.l.)—तङ्गणान् सर्वशूलिकान्; Mts *a*—कालिकांश्चैव चूलिकान्, *bc*—कालिकांश्चैव शूलिकान्, *d*—कालिकांश्चैव धूलिकान्. For the Taṅgaṇas and Cūlikas, see above, p. 26, notes 4 and 9. The correct reading of the last name may be *Cūlika*. But these Taṅgaṇas appear to have lived near about the Western Himalayas.

3. Vy *ace*—साध्रास्तुपारांस्तम्पाकान्, *d*—साध्रास्तुपारांस्तम्पाकान्; Mts *abc*—नुपारान् वर्वराकारान्, *d*—तुखारान् वर्वराकारान्; Bmd—साध्रास्तुपारान् लम्पाकान्. For the Tuṣāras or Tukhāras and Lampākas, see above, p. 25, note 6; p. 26, note 3.

4. Vy *a*—पल्लवान् दरदान् शकान्; Bmd, Vy *cde*—पल्लवान् दरदान् शकान्; Mts *abc*—पल्लवान् पारदान् शकान्, *d*—वारवाञ्चतान् (sic. पारदाञ्चकान्). See above, p. 23, n. 9; p. 24, n. 4; p. 60, n. 7.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः.

6. Vy *ac* (v. l.) *e*—प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्, *cde* (v. l.), Bmd—प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्; Mts—प्लावयित्वोदधिं गता.

7. Vy, Bmd—दरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान्; Vy *e* (v. l.)—मरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान्; Mts *abc*—दरदोर्जगुडांश्चैव, *d*—दरदजिन्दुतुन्दांश्च. See above, p. 25, note 4; p. 26, note 9.

8. Vy, Bmd—गान्धारान् वरपान् हृदान्; Mts *abc*—गान्धारान् औरसान् कुहन्, *d*—गान्धारान् रुरसान् (sic. औरसान्) क्रूरान्. See above, p. 24, note 1; p. 26, note 6. The Kuhus appear to have been the people inhabiting the valley of the Kuhu or Kabul river.

9. Vy, Bmd—शिवपौरान् इन्द्रहासान्; Mts—शिवपौरान् इन्द्रमरून्. The Śivapauras must have been the inhabitants of Sivapura, i. e. modern Shorkot in the Jhang District of West Pakistan. The other people cannot be identified.

10. Vy—वसातींश्च विसर्जयान्; Bmd—वसातींश्च विसर्जयान्; Mts *abc*—वसतीन् समतेजसम्, *d*—सवातीन् (sic. वसातीन्)...The Vasātis

सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रकरकान्¹ भ्रमराभीररोमकान्² ।
 शुनामुखांश्चोर्ध्वमरून्³ सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते⁴ ॥

E

गन्धर्वान् किन्नरान् यक्षान्⁵ रक्षोविद्याधरोरगान्⁶ ।

(Ossadioi of the Greeks) appear to have occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Chenab and situated between the confluence of that river respectively with the Rāvi and the Indus.

1. Vy, Bmd—सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रकरकान् ; Vy a (v. l.)—सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रवरकान् ; Mts abc—सैन्धवानुर्वसान् वर्वान्, d—सैन्धवान् कुवतान् (sic. कूयतान्) ... Other names in *Alb. Ind.* are Bahimarvara, Mara, Mrūṇa and Supurda which are apparently due to mistakes in the Arabic manuscript of Al-Birūnī's work consulted by Sachau. For the Saindhavas, see above, p. 24, note 2, and for the variant readings of the other name, p. 24, note 5.

2. Vy—भ्रमराभीररोहकान्, e (v. l.)—भ्रमटाभीररोहकान् ; Bmd—भ्रमराभीररोमकान् ; Mts abc—कुगयान् भीमरोमकान्. Above, p. 23, note 7 would suggest अभीरान् कालतोयकान्. But the Romakas may be the people of Rumā lying probably near the Salt Range.

3. Vy, Bmd—शुनामुखांश्चोर्ध्वमरून् ; Mts abc—शुनामुखांश्चोर्ध्वमरून्.

4. Vy—सिद्धचारणसेवितान्, c (v. l.), Mts abc, Bmd—सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते.

5. Vy, Mts, Bmd—गन्धर्वान् किन्नरान् यक्षान्. Al-Birūnī explains the Gandharvas as musicians. These names originally indicated certain tribal peoples, although later they came to imply classes of mythical beings. The Kinnaras and Yakṣas were probably names applied to some Himalayan tribes, while Gandharva appears to have been the original name of the people later called Gandhāra (cf. *Rām.*, VII, 101, 11 : तक्षं तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते । गन्धर्वदेशे हचिरे गान्धारविषये च सः ॥ etc.). The names however seem to have been used in the present context in the sense of mythical tribes.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—रक्षोविद्याधरोरगान्. Al-Birūnī explains the Urugas as those who creep on their breasts, i.e. the serpents.

कलापग्रामकांश्चैव¹ तथा किंपुरुषान् खसान्² ॥

किरातांश्च पुलिन्दांश्च³ कुरून् सभरतानपि⁴ ।

पञ्चालकाशिमत्स्यांश्च⁵ मगधाङ्गांस्तथैव च⁶ ॥

These three names, like those mentioned, above, note 5 (p. 62), originally indicated certain non-Aryan tribal peoples but were later used to indicate mythical tribes. They appear to be used in the present context in the mythical sense.

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts—कलापग्रामकांश्चैव. Al-Birūnī explains Kalāpagrāma as the city of the most virtuous people.

2. Vy, Bmd—पारदान् सीगनान् खसान्, *e* (v. 1.)—पारदांस्ताङ्गान् खसान् ; Mts *abc*—तथा किंपुरुषान् नरान्, *d*—तथा किंपुरुषान् खसान्. Al-Birūnī explains the Khasas as mountaineers. The name Kimpuruṣa was originally applied to a Himalayan people but was later used to indicate a mythical tribe. The Khasas were a Himalayan tribe now represented by the Khakkas Kashmir. See above p. 36, note 6.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातांश्च पुलिन्दांश्च. Al-Birūnī explains the Pulindas as hunters of the plains or robbers. For the Kirātas, see above, p. 22, note 1. The Pulindas were an aboriginal people inhabiting the Vindhyan region ; but the name was later applied to Vindhyan mountaineers in general and still later to any aboriginal people. The meaning of *Kirāta*, originally a Himalayan tribe, was also similarly modified. Cf. p. 30, n. 5.

4. Vy, Bmd—कुरून् सभरतानपि ; Mts—कुरून् वै भरतानपि. According to the epic and Puranic traditions, the Kurus and the Bharatas belonged to the same clan. For the Kurus, see above, p. 21, note 2.

5. Vy, Bmd—पञ्चालकाशिमत्स्यांश्च ; Mts *a*—पञ्चालकौशिकान् मत्स्यान्, *bc*—पाञ्चालान् कौशिकान् मत्स्यान्, *d*—पाञ्चालान् कौषिकान् मत्स्यान्. See above, p. 21, note 2; p. 22, notes 1 and 2. But *Matsya* may be a mistake for *Vatsa* which was the name of the people inhabiting the Allahabad region.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—मगधाङ्गांस्तथैव च. Mts *d* omits *Anga*. See above, p. 27, note 5; p. 29, note 1.

ब्रह्मोत्तरांश्च वङ्गांश्च¹ ताम्रलिप्तांस्तथैव च² ।
 एतान् जनपदानार्यान्³ गङ्गा भावयते शुभा⁴ ॥
 ततः प्रतिहता विन्ध्ये⁵ प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्⁶ ॥

F

ततश्च ह्लादिनी पुण्या⁷ प्राचीनाभिमुखं ययौ⁸ ।
 प्लावयन्त्युपकानांश्च⁹ निषादानपि सर्वशः¹⁰ ॥
 धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव¹¹ तथा नीलमुखानपि¹² ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—ब्रह्मोत्तरांश्च वङ्गांश्च. Mts *d* omits *Vaṅga*. See above, p. 27, note 5; p. 28, note 5.
2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ताम्रलिप्तांस्तथैव च. See above, p. 28, note 8.
3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतान् जनपदान् आर्यान्. Cf. the reference here to *ārya* with *mleccha-prāyāṁś* = *cha sarvaśaḥ* at p. 60, note 2 above.
4. Vy, Bmd—गङ्गा भावयते शुभान् ; Mts, Vy *e* (v. l.)—गङ्गा भावयते शुभा.
5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ततः प्रतिहता विन्ध्ये.
6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्.
7. Vy—ततश्चाह्लादिनी पुण्या ; Bmd—ततश्च ह्लादिनी पुण्या ; Mts—ततस्तु ह्लादिनी पुण्या.
8. Vy *ac*—प्राचीनाभिमुखं ययौ ; Mts *bc*, Vy *de*—प्राचीनाभिमुखी ययौ ; Vy *e* (v. l.), Mts *a*—प्राचीनाभिमुखा ययौ ; Bmd—प्राचीमाभिमुखी ययौ.
9. Vy, Bmd—प्लावयन्त्युपभोगांश्च ; Mts *abc*—प्लावयन्त्युपकांश्चैव, *d*—प्लावयन्त्युपकानांश्च.
10. Vy, Bmd—निषादानाञ्च जातयः ; Mts *abc*—निषादानपि सर्वशः, *d*—निषावानपि (sic.) सर्वशः.
11. Vy, Mts *abc*—धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव ; Bmd—धीवरानृपकांश्चैव ; Mts *d*—धीवरान् प्रिपकांश्चैव.
12. Vy, Bmd, Mts—तथा नीलमुखानपि.

केकरानुष्टकर्णाश्च¹ किरातानपि चैव हि² ॥
 कालोदरान् विवर्णाश्च³ कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान्⁴ ।
 सा मण्डल समुद्रस्य⁵ तिरोभूतानुपूर्वतः⁶ ॥

G

ततस्तु पावनी चैव⁷ प्राचीमेव दिशं गता⁸ ।
 कुपथान् प्लावयन्तीह⁹ इन्द्रद्युम्नसरांस्यपि¹⁰ ॥

1. Vy, Bmd—केरलानुष्टकर्णाश्च; Vy e (v. 1.).—केरलानुष्टकर्णाश्च; Mts abc—केकरान् एककर्णाश्च, c (v. 1.) d—केकरान् उष्टकर्णाश्च. Al-Birūnī explains *Uṣṭrakarna* as a people whose lips are turned like their ears possibly through a confusion of the word *uṣṭra* with *oṣṭha*.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातानपि चैव हि.

3. Vy, Bmd—कालोदरान् विवर्णाश्च; Mts abc—कालञ्जरान् विवर्णाश्च, c (v. 1.).—कालिन्दगतिकांश्चैव, d—कलीदरान् विवर्णाश्च. Al-Birūnī explains *Vivarna* as the colourless people so called on account of their intensely dark complexion.

4. Vy, Bmd—कुमारान् स्वर्गभूषितान्; Vy e (v. 1.).—कुमारी-स्वर्गभूषितान्; Mts abc—कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान् c (v. 1.) d—कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान्, कुशिकान् पर्णभूमिकान्. Al-Birūnī explains *Svargabhūmi* as a country resembling paradise.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—सा मण्डले समुद्रस्य.

6. Vy, Bmd—तिरोभूतानुपूर्वतः; Mts abc—तीरे भूत्वा तु सर्वशः, c (v. 1.).—तीरे भूत्वा चतुर्दश.

7. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—ततस्तु पावनी चैव; Mts abc—ततस्तु नलिनी चापि. Note that there is difference between the extant versions of Mts and those of Vy and Bmd, but that the Mts manuscript consulted by Al-Birūnī supports Vy and Bmd. See also above, p. 58, notes 3, 4 and 9.

8. Vy, Bmd—प्राचीमेव दिशं गता; Mts—प्राचीमेव दिशं ययी.

9. Vy acde (v. 1.), Bmd—अपथान् भावयन्तीह; Vy e—अपथान् प्लावयन्तीह; Mts—कुपथान् प्लावयन्ती सा. Al-Birūnī explains *Kupatha* as a people who are far from sin. For names ending in *patha* or *mārga*, cf. *Siddha-patha* (*Rājatar.*, VIII, 557), the old name of the Sidau or Budil pass (14000 ft.) in Kashmir. See also p. 66, note 2 below. Cf. p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5; p. 67, note 4.

10. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रद्युम्नसरोपि च; Mts—इन्द्रद्युम्नसरांस्यपि. Al-Birūnī explains the passage as 'the cisterns of king *Indradyumna*'.

तथा खरपथाश्चैव¹ वेत्रशंकुपथानपि² ।

मध्येनोद्यानकमरून्³ कुथप्रावरणान् ययौ⁴ ॥

इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रे तु⁵ प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम्⁶ ॥

1. Vy, Bmd—तथा खरपथाश्चैव ; Mts—तथा खरपथान् देशान्. Kharapatha reminds us of Ajapatha and Verāpatha, mentioned in the Buddhist *Niddesa* commentary, the latter also by Ptolemy as Berabai which was not far from Takkola about the present Isthmus of Kra. (cf. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 56-60 ; Levi, *Etudes Asiatiques*, II, pp. 1-55). See note 2 below.

2. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रशंकुपथानपि ; Mts—वेत्रशशंकुपथानपि. Śaṅkupatha is mentioned in the *Niddesa* commentary (cf. note 1 above) along with Verāpatha, Janṇupatha, Ajapatha, Mendhapatha, Chatrapatha, Vamśapatha, Śakunapatha, Muṣikapatha and Daripatha. Vetrupatha (possibly called Vettādhāra or Vettācāra in the *Niddesa*) is mentioned in connection with Suvarṇabhūmi (the land beyond the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal) in the *Brhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha*. These extraordinary routes (passes?) are also referred to in other early Indian works such as the *Vimānavatthu*, the *Tittira Jātaka*, the *Milindapañha*, Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini, V. 1, 77, and the *Gaṇapāṭha*. It has been suggested that the knowledge of the Far East exhibited by the *Niddesa* did not exist in India before the first century A.D., but that it is earlier than the third century A.D. The *Niddesa* list, with which the Purāṇic section under discussion may be contemporaneous, has been assigned to a date between the end of the first and the beginning of the third century A.D. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the knowledge of the Far East exhibited by the *Mahābhāṣya* points to a late date of the work in its present form as suggested in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XV, pp. 933ff.

3. Vy, a—मध्येनोद्याकमरारान्, *cde* (v. l.), Bmd—मध्येनोद्यान-मस्कारान् ; Vy e—मध्येनोद्यानमकरान् ; Mts abc—मध्येनोज्जानकमरून्, d—मध्येनोद्यानमरूरान्.

4. Vy, Bmd, Mts abc—कुथप्रावरणान् ययौ ; Mts d—कुशप्रावरणान् ययौ. See above, p. 36, note 7.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts a—इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रे तु ; Mts bc—इन्द्रद्वीपसमीपे तु, c (v. l.)—इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रान्ते. For the identification of Indradvīpa with Burma, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. by Majumdar Sastri, pp. 751-52.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम्.

H

ततश्च नलिनी चागात्¹ प्राचीमाशां जवेन तु² ।
 तोमरान् भावयन्तीह³ हंसमार्गान् सहृदुकान्⁴ ॥
 पूर्वान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती⁵ भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरीन्⁶ ।
 कर्णप्रावरणांश्चैव⁷ प्राप्य चाश्वमुखानपि⁸ ॥
 सिक्त्वा पर्वतमरून् सा⁹ गत्वा विद्याधरानपि¹⁰ ।
 शैमिण्डलकोष्ठे तु¹¹ प्रविष्टा सा महोदधिम्¹² ॥

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—ततश्च नलिनी चागात् ; Mts *abc*—ततस्तु पावनी प्रायात्. Note the difference between the two versions; cf. above, p. 65, note 7.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्राचीमाशां जवेन तु.

3. Vy *acde* (v. l.), Bmd—तोमरान् भावयन्तीह; Vy *e*—तोमरान् प्लावयन्तीह; Mts *abc*—तोमरान् प्लावयन्ती च, *d*—तामरान् प्लावयन्ती च. See above, p. 26, note 8; p. 37, note 2.

4. Vy *acd*—हंसमार्गान् सहृदुकान्, *c* (v. l.), Bmd—हंसमार्गान् बहृदुकान् ; Vy *e*—हंसमार्गान् सद्दृदुकान् (sic.); Mts *abc*—हंसमार्गान् समूहकान्, *d*—हंसमार्गान् समूहकान्. See above, p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—पूर्वान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती; Mts *d*—पूर्णान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरीन्; Mts *abc*—भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरिम्.

7. Vy, Bmd—कर्णप्रावरणांश्चैव ; Mts—कर्णप्रावरणान् प्राप्य. Al-Birūnī explains *Karṇaprāvaraṇa* as a people whose ears used to fall down on their shoulders. Cf. above, p. 36, note 7.

8. Vy, Bmd—प्राप्य चाश्वमुखानपि ; Mts—गता साश्वमुखानपि. Al-Birūnī explains *Aśvamukha* as a people with horse's face.

9. Vy, Bmd—सिकतापर्वतमरून्; Mts *abc*—सिक्त्वा पर्वतमेरं सा, *d*—सिक्त्वा पर्वतमरं सा. Al-Birūnī explains *parvata-maru* as mountainous steppes.

10. Vy, Bmd—गत्वा विद्याधरान् ययौ; Mts—गत्वा विद्याधरानपि.

11. Vy—शैमिण्डलकोष्ठे तु; Bmd—शैमिण्डलमध्येन; Mts *ac*—शैमिण्डलकोष्ठं तु, *b*—शैमिण्डलकोष्ठं तु, *d*—रूमीण्डलकोष्ठं तु. *Koṣṭhe* may be a mistake for *kacche*. See above, p. 58, note 9.

12. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—प्रविष्टा सा महोदधिम्; Mts *abc*—सा प्रविष्टा महत्सरः.

IV ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

There is the manuscript of a small work entitled *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* (G. 9660 ; foll. 1B-3B) in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. While entering it in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,¹ Pandit H. P. Sastri remarked that it may 'be part of some Tantra'; but he did not try to find out the Tantra to which it belongs. The *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* is, however, actually the seventh Paṭala of Book III of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*. There are four fragmentary manuscripts of this Tantra in the Society's library; but only one of them² contains the section in question. A few years ago, Book I (Kāli-khaṇḍa) of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, edited by B. Bhattacharya, was published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series ; but the remaining Books are still in manuscripts. Bhattacharya, formerly Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, kindly sent me, at my request, a copy of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, Paṭala vii. His letter to me dated the 2nd April, 1941, reads : "This reading is based on four manuscripts.....We have in our library only one manuscript of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*; but the readings found in it contain omissions and errors which are corrected with the help of other manuscripts. I feel that the accompanying reading is fuller and free from errors as far as the manuscript material permits." In my edition of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* published here, I have therefore utilised the following three manuscripts :—

- A—Manuscript of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* in the library of the Asiatic Society (No. 9660).
- B—Manuscript of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* in the library of the Asiatic Society (No. 323).
- C—Copy of the manuscript of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, Paṭala vii, kindly supplied by B. Bhattacharya.

1. Vol. IV, 1923, pp. 35f.
2. 323/55E4, foll. 209A-212A.

The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, to which the *Ṣaṭpāñcāśaddeśavibhāga* belongs, is a late work that is roughly assignable to the seventeenth century. In his introduction to the *Kālikhaṇḍa* (Book I of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*), B. Bhattacharya assigns the work to the period between 1555 and 1607 A.D. or roughly to *circa* 1581 A.D.¹ This date is, however, based on the supposition that 'in the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa (written sometime after 1577 A.D.),² the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* is largely quoted'.³ As a matter of fact, there is not a single quotation from the *Śaktisaṅgama* in the *Tantrasāra*. The *Ṣaṭpāñcāśaddeśavibhāga* (verse 11), on the other hand, refers to the inclusion of Ujjayinī in the country of Mahārāṣṭra and this seems to point to the Marāṭhā occupation of Malwa under Bajī Rāo I (1720-40 A.D.). V. 16 again speaks of Karṇāṭa in the sense of 'the Carnatic' and not of the Kannaḍa-speaking country. We know that the successors of Veṅkaṭa II (1630-42) of the Āraṇḍi dynasty of Vijayanagara kings, even though they ruled a small tract in the east coast and had little or no authority over the Kannaḍa country, still called themselves 'Lords of Karṇāṭaka'. The verse seems to point to a date when the name Karṇāṭaka had become stereotyped as the designation of a part of the east coast. This was done possibly about the time when Zulfiqār Ali Khān (1692-1703 A.D.) was created the 'Nawab of the Karṇāṭaka' by the Mughal emperor Aurangzīb.⁴ If these suggestions are correct, the *Ṣaṭpāñcāśaddeśavibhāga* cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. The manuscript of the *Tantra*, here marked B, contains the date *Śaka* 1674=1752 A.D. when apparently the manuscript was copied. But that the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* was composed sometime before 1744 A.D. is indicated by the fact that two of its stanzas are quoted by

1. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

2. As we have shown elsewhere, the *Tantrasāra* was composed in the first half of the seventeenth century. See *The Śākta Piṭhas*, p. 80. Reference has been made to a manuscript of this work bearing the date 'Samvat 1586' (Gode, *Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff., Poleman, *Census of Indic Manuscripts in U. S. A.*, etc.). But *Samvat* in this case seems to be a misreading for *Śaka*.

3. Cf. p. vi.

4. See *infra*.

Harikṛiṣṇa Miśra in his *Vaidikavaiṣṇavasādācāra* composed between 1713 and 1744 A.D.¹

The *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* belongs to that class of works which is called the gazetteer literature in Sanskrit and on which Pandit H. P. Sastri wrote an interesting but short paper in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-25. The work gives an account of fifty-six countries lying in and on the borders of India. The list is drawn from the pilgrim's point of view and most of the localities mentioned are holy places. The majority of the localities are again Śaiva and Śākta Tirthas and this fact indicates Tantric influence. The importance of the number 56 is, however, not determinable. This number is found adhered to in some other works of the class. The earliest work containing a list of fifty-six countries seems to be the *Candragarbhāsūtra* or *Candragabhavaipūlyā* (translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas in 566 A.D.)² mentioning them in connection with the Buddha's manifestations in Jambudvīpa. All of them cannot be identified; but 'apparently less than half are within India proper'.³ It has been suggested that the Sūtra was composed or re-edited in Central Asia; it is therefore possible that the importance attached to the number fifty-six is essentially foreign. Similar lists are found in some other medieval Tantric texts; e.g., the *Sammoha Tantra* (composed before 1450 A.D. according to Gode)⁴ gives two lists of fifty-six countries. These two lists are quoted below since they can be compared fruitfully with the list of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* under study.

I

कादौ षट्पंचाशद्देशश्च (देशा) हादावपि तथा प्रिये ।
तद्देशशक्तिसंयोगस्त (न्तद् or गात्तद्) राज्यमिति कीर्त्तनम् ॥१
तत्संगमजपेणै (नै) व तद्देशराज्यमाकृयात् (?) ।
तत्रादौ कादिदेशाञ्च (श्च) कथ्यते (न्ते) परमेश्वरि ॥२

1. See *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XXI, 1956, pp. 4 ff.

2. See Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, Tome I, p. 270.

3. See Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 215; Levi, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Tome V, pp. 261 f.

4. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 184f.

अंगवंगौ कलिगश्च कालिग(गः) केरलस्तथा ।
 काश्मीर(रः) कामरूपश्च महाराष्ट्रोऽथ एव च ॥ ३
 सौराष्ट्रो द्रविडश्चैवं(व) तैलिगमलयाद्र(द्रि)कौ ।
 कर्णाटावन्त्यवैदर्भसर्पा(प्ता?) भीर(राः)समालवा(वाः) ॥ ४
 ची(चो)लयां(पां)चालकांबोज(जाः) वैराद्र(ट)पाम्यां(ण्डौ) विदेहभूः ।
 वाल्लोकश्च किरातश्च कैकटा(कर्वटा)वन्तकौ(?) तथा ॥ ५
 ऐराकभोटांतचीन(ना) महाचीनस्तथैव च ।
 नेपाल(लः) शीलहट्टश्च गौडकोशलमा(म)गधा(धाः) ॥ ६
 र्नो(उ)त्कलाः कुंतलहूनाः(णौ) कोंकणः केकयस्तथा ।
 शूरसेनः कौरवाश्च सिंहलाश्च पुलिंदका(काः) ॥ ७
 कच्छसेवनमद्राश्च सौत्रीरलाटवर्वराः ।
 मत्स्या(त्स्याः) सैधव इत्येत(ते) षट्पंचाश(शत्) प्रकीर्त्तिता(ताः) ॥ ८

II

कादिदेशाः समाख्याता हादिदेशाः(शान्) शृणु प्रिये ।
 अंगवंगकलिग(गाः)स्यान् कालिगः स्यात् सु(सौ)वीरक(कः) ॥ १
 काश्मीरश्चैव काम्बोजा(जाः) सौराष्ट्रो मगधस्तथा ।
 महाराष्ट्रो मालवस्तु नेपालः केरलस्तथा ॥ २
 चोलयां(पां)चालगौडाश्च मलयांड(याल)श्च सिंहलः ।
 द्योक्विडो व्योन्तश्चैव(?) का(क)र्णाटो लाट एव च ॥ ३
 मलाटश्चैव पानाटाः पावाद्यान्धक(?)पुलिन्दकः(काः) ।
 हु(हू)णकौरवगान्धारविदर्भाः सविदेहका(काः) ॥ ४
 वाल्लोक(को) वर्वरो देवि केकयः कोशलोऽपि च ।
 कुन्तलश्च किला(रा)तश्च शूरसेनश्च सेवर(नः) ॥ ५
 वना टःटंक(ग)णश्चैव कोंकणा मत्स्यमद्रकौ ।
 मैड(मह)सैधवसन्धथाः(?) पार्श्वकीकौ(पारसीकस्) ततः स्मृतौ(तः) ॥ ६
 ड्योजालि(?) यवनौ देवि जल(?)जालन्ध(न्ध्र)साल्वला(काः) ।
 सिन्धुश्च वंयदेशाश्च हादिपर्यायवाधका(चकाः) ॥ ७¹

1. Quoted by P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, pp. 97-99, from a late Newari manuscript in the Darbar Library, Nepal. The text is faulty; but it can be partially corrected with the help of other materials and may also be used in correcting the latter. It is, however, possible that some of the mistakes belong to the original. The *Kādi* and *Hādi* sets of Tantric groupings are given 9 subdivisions each. There is also a fourfold division: 1. *Kerala* extending influence from *Atiga* to *Mālava*, 2. *Kāśmīra* from *Madra-desa* to *Nepāla*, 3. *Gauḍa* from *Śilahaṭṭa* to *Saindhava*, and 4. *Vilāsa* prevalent everywhere.

The geographical informations derived from the *Śaṭṭaṇḍaśatka* are very interesting, and in many cases they throw welcome light on some problems.¹ But the difficulties in dealing with the text are also numerous. The sources of the author's informations are works like the epics, the Purāṇas and the Tantras and above all travellers' or pilgrims' tales. The author might have himself visited some of the places on pilgrimage. The manuscripts he relied on may have misled him in some cases with their wrong readings and many such mistakes may be also due to the copyists of his work.² Moreover the author, like many of the Tantric writers of his time, seems to have only an insufficient knowledge of Sanskrit. Partly due to this fact and partly to the inadvertence of the copyists, a great confusion has been created with reference to the actual position of many countries and others bordering on them. As will be indicated below in the notes on the countries, many of these mistakes can be quite easily corrected.³ It must, however, be admitted that we cannot expect in all cases *accurate* geographical knowledge from our author who had to depend on a pilgrim's knowledge and had no opportunity of consulting any scientifically compiled text on geography or a scientifically prepared map. In some cases therefore, we find that the position of one country given in relation to another is only partially true or even wrong.⁴ Owing to the same reason, some countries are given as abutting on each other, though they are actually separated by other countries.⁵ The author generally mentions places, usually those sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī, as boundaries of the countries. Some of these places are difficult to identify, and in many cases the name of a god or goddess in a particular temple actually indicates the whole district round the shrine.⁶ This difficulty is enhanced by the fact that, while in some cases the boundary mentioned is to be included in the country, in others

1. See notes on verses 3, 21, 39, 46, 49, etc.

2. Cf. verses 5, 43, 47, etc.

3. Cf. verses 19, 23, 47, 48, etc.

4. E.g., verse 18 wherein 'east' seems to be used for 'south-east.'

5. Cf. verses 13, 25, 33, 57, etc.

6. Cf. verses 12, 36, 39, etc.

it is to be excluded from it.¹ In many cases again, more than one country are mentioned in the same area and they overlap one another.² In view of the above observations, it will be seen that the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* only attempts a rough estimate of the extents of countries, and sometimes the extents recorded are wider or narrower than they are actually.

The 8th Paṭala of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, is also very interesting to the students of early Indian geography. It gives an account of a fivefold division of India. The Chinese authors generally refer to the Five Indies, viz., the Northern, Western, Central, Eastern and Southern, and the *Bhuvanakośa* section of the *Purāṇas* divide the country into Madhyadeśa, Udīcya, Prācya, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Aparānta, although sometimes the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions are added to them. The *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara also refers to this fivefold division when it speaks of Pūrva-deśa beyond Vārāṇasī, Dakṣiṇāpatha beyond Māhiṣmatī, Paścād-deśa beyond Devasabhā and Uttarāpatha beyond Pṛthūdaka. The five divisions of India as given in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* from the Tantric point of view are different. They are Indra-prastha, Yama-prastha, Varuṇa-prastha, Kūrma-prastha and Deva-prastha. We have appended this interesting section as a supplement to the text of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*.

षट्पञ्चाशद्देशविभागः

(*Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III,
Chapter VII)

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥³

शंकर उवाच ।⁴

रहस्यातिरहस्यं हि⁵ प्रोक्तं देवि तवाग्रतः ।⁶

देशव्यवस्था देवेशि कथ्यते शृणु यत्नतः⁷ ॥ १

1. Cf. verses 9, 11, 14, etc.

2. Cf. verses 4, 12, 14, 42, etc.

3. Not found in B and C.

4. Not found in B and C.

5. C—च.

6. Not found in A.

7. B—तत्परः.

वैद्यनाथं समारभ्य भुवनेशान्तगं (गः) शिवे ।
 तावदंगभिधो¹ देशो यात्रायां नहि दुष्यति² ॥ २
 रत्नाकरं³ समारभ्य ब्रह्मपुत्रान्तगं (गः) शिवे⁴ ।
 वंगदेशो मया प्रोक्तः सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः⁵ ॥ ३
 जगन्नाथात् पूर्वभागात्⁶ कृष्णातीरान्तगं (गः) शिवे ।
 कलिगदेशः संप्रोक्तो वाममार्गपरायणः⁷ ॥ ४
 कलिगदेशमारभ्य पंचाष्टयोजनं शिवे ।
 दक्षिणस्यां महेशानि कालिगः परिकीर्तितः ॥ ५
 सुबह्म्यं समारभ्य यावद्देवो जनार्दनः ।
 तावत्केरलदेशः स्यात्तन्मध्ये सिद्धिकेरलः⁸ ॥ ६
 रामेश्वरो वैकटेशो⁹ हंसकेरलबोधकः ॥ ७
 अनन्तशैलमारभ्य यावत्स्यादुडुपं पुरम्¹⁰ ।
 तावत्सर्वेशनामा तु¹¹ केरलः परिकीर्तितः ॥ ८
 शारदामठमारभ्य कुंकुमाद्रितटान्तकम्¹² ।
 तावत्काश्मीरदेशः स्यात्पंचाशद्योजनान्तकः¹³ ॥ ९
 कालेश्वरश्चेतगिरि¹⁴ त्रिपुराशीलपर्वतम् ।
 कामरूपभिधो देवि गणेशगिरिमूर्द्धनि ॥ १०
 त्रयंबकं¹⁵ समारभ्य मध्ये चोज्जयिनी शिवे ।

1. B—विधो.
2. C—दुष्यते.
3. A—वजूकारं; C—वजूकरं.
4. C—परे.
5. AB—प्रदर्शकः.
6. Read जगन्नाथपूर्व.
7. B—रामं.
8. —A सिद्धं.
9. —A विकुटेशो; B—वैकटेशो. Read रामेश्वराद्वैकटेशं.
10. AB—परे.
11. —सर्वे समानास्तु.
12. B—माधिं.
13. BC—न्तकम्.
14. B—केरलेश्वरं; C—कोलेश्वरं. Read °श्वराच्छ्वेतं.
15. B C—त्रिपंचकं due possibly to the wrong spelling त्रियंबकं. Better read त्रयंबकेशं.

मारजरीतीर्थ¹ राजेन्द्र² कोलापुरनिवासिनी ॥
 तावद्देशो महाराष्ट्रः कर्णाटस्याभिगोचरः³ ॥ ११
 जगन्नाथादूर्द्ध्वभागे⁴ अर्वाकं श्रीभ्रमरांविता ।
 तावदंघ्राभिधो देशः (सौराष्ट्र) शृणु साम्प्रतम्⁵ ॥ १२
 कौकणात्पश्चिमं⁶ तीर्त्वा समुद्रप्रान्तगोचरः ।
 हिगुलाजान्तको⁷ देवि शतयोजनमाश्रितः⁸ ॥
 सौराष्ट्रो देशो देवेशि नाम्ना तु गुर्जराभिधः⁹ ॥ १३
 श्रीशैलन्तु समारभ्य चोलेशान्मध्यभागतः ।
 तैलंगदेशो देवेशि ध्यनाध्ययनतत्परः ॥ १४
 मूकांवितां समारभ्य मलयाद्रचन्तंगं¹⁰ शिवे ।
 मलयालाभिधो¹¹ देशो मन्त्रसिद्धिप्रवर्तकः ॥ १५
 रामनाथं समारभ्य श्रीरंगान्तं वरेस्वरि¹² ।
 कर्णाटदेशो देवेशि साम्राज्यभोगदायकः¹³ ॥ १६
 ताम्रपर्णीं समारभ्य¹⁴ शैलार्द्धैरुत्तरार्द्धतः¹⁵ ।
 अवन्तीसंज्ञको¹⁶ देशः कालिका तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ १७
 भद्रकाली महत्पूर्वा¹⁷ रामदुर्गाच्च¹⁸ पश्चिमे ।
 श्रीविदर्भाभिधो देशो वैदर्भी तत्र¹⁹ तिष्ठति ॥ १८

1. B—तीर.
2. B—राजेन्द्र; C—राजेन्द्रः.
3. B—कर्णाटस्वाभि°.
4. Read जगन्नाथ ऊर्द्ध्व°.
5. AC—सादरं.
6. A—कौकणासम्मिमं.
7. C—°न्तकं.
8. B—जन्तुयोजनने शतः; C—जन्तवो जनलेशतः.
9. A—षण्मातुरजराभिधः.
10. B—मनपाड्यान्तंगं. Read °न्तगः or °न्तकं.
11. A B—मलपाला°.
12. B C—बिलेश्वरि.
13. B—भोम°.
14. B—समासाद्य.
15. B—शैलार्द्धैरुत्तरार्द्धतः; C—शैलद्वयेत्युत्तरतोर्द्धतः. Read शैलार्धादु°.
16. Usually अवन्ति.
17. A—महत्पूर्वा. Possibly स्थानात्पूर्वा. Read भद्रकालीदक्षपूर्वा. Cf. below,
- p 76, note 13.
18. A—दुर्गा च.
19. C—वैदर्भास्तत्र; A—वैदर्भा तत्र.

गुर्जरात्पूर्वभागे¹ तु द्वारकातो हि² दक्षिणे ।

मरुदेशो महेशानि उष्ट्रोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥१९

श्रीकौंकनादधोभागे³ तापीतः पश्चिमोत्तरे⁴ ।

आभीरदेशो देवेशि विध्यशैले व्यवस्थितः ॥२०

अवन्तीतः पूर्वभागे गोदावर्यास्तथोत्तरे ।

मालवाख्यो महादेशो धनधान्यपरायणः⁵ ॥२१

द्राविडतैलंगयोर्मध्ये⁶ चोलदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ।

लम्बकणश्च ते प्रोक्ता भेदो ह्यवान्तरो⁷ भवेत् ॥२२

कुरुक्षेत्रात्⁸ पश्चिमे तु तथा चोत्तरभागतः⁹ ।

इन्द्रप्रस्थान्महेशानि दशत्रियोजनोत्तरम्¹⁰ ।

पाञ्चालदेशो देवेशि सौन्दर्यगर्वभूषितः ॥२३

पाञ्चालदेशमारभ्य म्लेच्छादक्षिणपूर्वतः ।

काम्बोजदेशो देवेशि वाजिराशिपरायणः¹¹ ॥२४

वेदभदेशादूर्ध्वं च इन्द्रप्रस्थाच्च दक्षिणे ।

मरुदेशात्पूर्वभागे विराटः परिकीर्तितः¹² ॥२५

काम्बोजादक्षभागे¹³ तु इन्द्रप्रस्थाच्च¹⁴ पश्चिमे ।

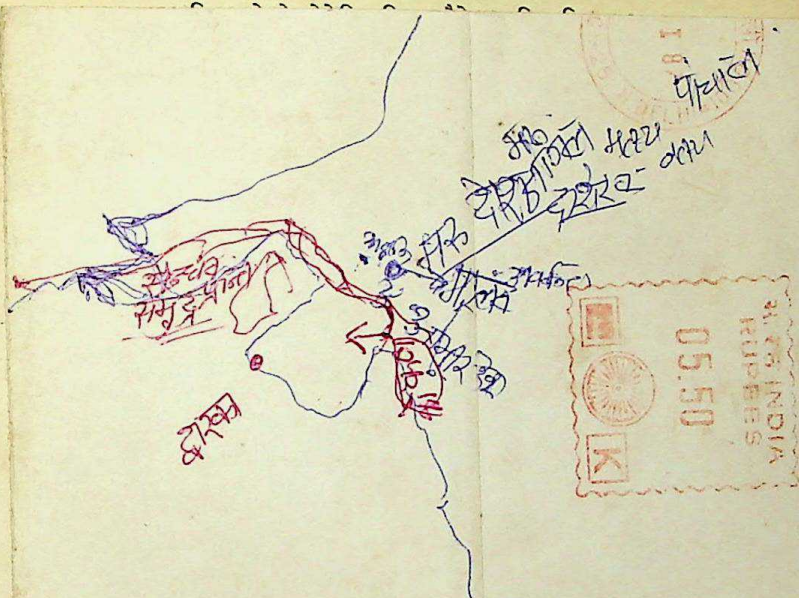
पाण्ड्यदेशो¹⁵ महेशानि महाशूरत्वकारकः ॥२६

1. Read गुर्जरपूर्वभागात्.
2. Read द्वारका यस्य.
3. A—श्रीकौंक°. Read श्रीकौंकणस्त्वधोभागे.
4. A B—पश्चिमे वरे. Read तापी च पश्चिमोत्तरे.
5. A—धनधाम.
6. B—तिलंग. Read तैलंगद्रविडान्तरे. Note that the rules of metre are often disregarded.
7. B—ह्यपरावन्तरे.
8. Read °क्षेत्रं.
9. B—°भारतः.
10. A—योजनाद्वयः; B—योजनद्वये. Read योजनान्तरम्.
11. Read वाजिराजि.
12. A C—वैराट्देशः प्रकीर्तितः.
13. A—भोजा°. Note that the word *dakṣa* is used in our text as well as in many other Tantra works in the sense of *dakṣiṇa*.
14. A B—इन्द्रदेशा°.
15. B—पाण्ड्यदेशो; C—याम्यदेशो corrected to पाण्ड्यदेशो.

ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTIES

77

गंडकीतीरमारभ्य¹ चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे ।
 विदेहभूः समाख्याता तैरभुक्त्यभिधः² स तु ॥२७
 काम्बोजदेशमारभ्य महाम्लेच्छात् पूर्वके ।
 बाल्हीकदेशो³ देवेशि अश्वोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥२८
 तप्तकुंडं⁴ समारभ्य रामक्षेत्रान्तकं शिवे ।



गुर्जरात्पूर्वभागे¹ तु द्वारकातो हि² दक्षिणे ।

मरुदेशो महेशानि उष्ट्रोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥१९॥

श्रीकौंकनादधोभागे³ तापीतः पश्चिमोत्तरे⁴ ।

→ आभीरदेशो देवेशि विध्यशैले व्यवस्थितः ॥२०॥

मरुदेशो

गुर्जरा
मरुदेशो
आभीर

36 Ferozeshan Rd.
New Delhi

1/10/19

14. A B—इन्द्रदेशा°.

15. B—पाण्ड्यदेशो; C—याम्यदेशो corrected to पाण्ड्यदेशो.

गंडकीतीरमारभ्य¹ चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे ।
 विदेहभूः समाख्याता तैरभुक्त्यभिधः² स तु ॥२७
 काम्बोजदेशमारभ्य महाम्लेच्छात् पूर्वके ।
 बाह्लीकदेशो³ देवेशि अश्वोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥२८
 तप्तकुंडं⁴ समारभ्य रामक्षेत्रान्तकं शिवे ।
 किरातदेशो देवेशि विन्ध्यशैले च तिष्ठति ॥२९
 करतोयां समारभ्य हिंगुलाजान्तकं शिवे ।
 वक्रान्तदेशो⁵ देवेशि महाम्लेच्छपरायणः ॥३०
 हिंगुपीठं समारभ्य मत्केशान्तं⁶ महेश्वरि ।
 खुराशनाभिधो⁷ देशो म्लेच्छमार्गपरायणः ॥३१
 तन्मध्ये चोत्तरे देवि ऐरांकः⁸ परिकीर्तितः ॥३२
 काश्मीरन्तु समारभ्य कामरूपाच्च पश्चिमे ।
 भोटान्तदेशो देवेशि मानसेशाच्च दक्षिणे ॥३३
 मानसेपा(सेशा)दृक्षपूर्वं चीनदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥३४
 कैलासगिरिमारभ्य⁹ सरयूयोनितः परे ।
 आमोङ्गान्तं¹⁰ महेशानि महाचीनाभिधो¹¹ भवेत् ॥३५
 जटेश्वरं समारभ्य योगिन्यन्तं¹² महेश्वरि ।
 नेपालदेशो देवेशि शिलहट्टं शृणु प्रिये ॥३६
 गणेश्वरं समारभ्य महोदध्यन्तगं (गः) शिवे ।
 शिलाहट्टाभिधो देशो पर्वते तिष्ठति प्रिये ॥३७¹³

1. B—नीर°.
2. B—तिरभुक्ता°. Read 'भिधा सा.
3. A—वाहिक; B—वाहीक.
4. B C—तत्तात्कुण्डं.
5. B—वभक्तान (बदक्षाणः ?).
6. A—मत्कोशान्तं; B—मत्केशान्तं. Read मत्केशान्तं.
7. B—पुरासना°; C—खुरासना°. A reads मत्कोशान्तं महेश्वरि । after करतोयां समारभ्य and thus omits the stanza referring to Vakrānta-deśa.
8. B—ऐकीरः.
9. B—कैलानरं समारभ्य; C—कैलासतीरमारभ्य.
10. A—आमोरंगं; B—आमारागां.
11. B—चीनाधिपो.
12. B—योगिनित्तं.
13. Not found in A.

बंगदेशं समारभ्य भुवनेशान्तगं (गः) शिवे¹ ।
 गौडदेशः समाख्यातः सर्वविद्याविशारदः ॥३८
 गोकर्णेशात्पूर्वभागे² आर्यावर्त्तित्तु चोत्तरे ।
 तैरभुक्तात्³ पश्चिमे तु महापुर्वाश्च पूर्वतः⁴ ।
 महाकोशलदेशश्च⁵ सूर्यवंशपरायणः ॥३९
 कालेश्वरं⁶ समारभ्य तप्तकुण्डान्तकं शिवे ।
 मगधाख्यो⁷ महादेशो यात्रायां नहि दुष्यति ।
 दक्षोत्तरक्रमेणैव क्रमात्कीकटमा(म)गधौ ॥४०
 चरणाद्रिं समारभ्य गृध्रकूटान्तकं⁸ शिवे ।
 तावत्कीकटदेशः स्यादुत्तरो⁹ मा(म)गधो मतः ॥४१
 जगन्नाथप्रान्तदेशः¹⁰श्चोत्कलः¹¹ परिकीर्तितः ॥४२
 कामगिरिं समारभ्य द्वारकान्तं महेश्वरि ।
 श्रीकुन्तलाभिधो देशो हूणं शृणु महेश्वरि ॥४३
 कामगिरेर्दक्षभागे मरुदेशात्तथोत्तरे ।
 हूणदेशः समाख्यातः शूरास्तत्र वसन्ति हि¹² ॥४४
 अथ घट्टं¹³ समारभ्य कोटीशस्य तु मध्यगः¹⁴ ।
 समुद्रप्रान्तदेशो हि कोंकणः¹⁵ परिकीर्तितः ॥४५
 ब्रह्मपुत्रात्कामरूपान्मध्यभागे¹⁶ तु कैकयः ॥४६

1. A—भुवनेशं महेश्वरि; B—भुवनेशान्तं महेश्वरि.
2. Read गोकर्णेशादक्षभागे.
3. A—तैरभुक्तात्.
4. A B—सर्वतः.
5. C—देशः स्यात्.
6. AC—व्यासेश्वरं.
7. B—मगधा°.
8. B C—°न्तगं.
9. A—स्यात्तदूर्ध्वः; B—स्यदूर्ध्वस्तु.
10. B—प्रोतदेश°; C—प्रोवतदेश
11. C—°श्चोत्कलः.
12. B—च.
13. A—अवधेरद्वि; B—अथत्यदं.
14. B—कोटीशश्च वसकगे; C—मध्यगे.
15. A—कोंकणः.
16. B—°गत.

मगधादक्षभागे¹ तु विन्ध्यात्पश्चिमतः शिवे ।
 सौरसेनाभिधो² देशः सूर्य(यदु)वंशप्रकाशकः ॥४७
 हस्तिनापुरमारभ्य कुरुक्षेत्राच्च दक्षिणे ।
 पाञ्चालपूर्वभागे तु³ कुरुदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥४८
 मरुदेशात्पूर्वभागे कामाद्रेर्दक्षिणे शिवे ।
 सिंहलाख्यो महादेशः सर्वदेशोत्तमोत्तमः ॥४९
 शिलहट्टात्⁴ पूर्वभागे कामरूपात्तथोत्तरे ।
 पुलिन्ददेशो⁵ देवेशि नरनारायणपरः ॥५०
 गणेश्वरात्पूर्वभागे समुद्रादुत्तरे शिवे ।
 कच्छदेशः समाख्यातः सेवनं^{5a} शृणु सादरम् ॥५१
 पुलिन्दादुत्तरे भागे कच्छाच्च पश्चिमे शिवे ।
 मत्स्यदेशः समाख्यातः मत्स्यबाहुल्यकारकः ॥५२
 वैराटपाण्ड्ययोर्मध्ये⁶ पूर्वदक्षक्रमेण च ।
 मद्रदेशः समाख्यातः माद्रीशास्तत्र⁷ तिष्ठति ॥५३
 शूरसेनात्⁸ पूर्वभागे कण्ठकात्⁹ पश्चिमे वरे ।
 सौवीरदेशो देवेशि सर्वदेशाधमाधमः¹⁰ ॥५४
 अवन्तीतः पश्चिमे तु वैदर्भादक्षिणोत्तरे¹¹ ।
 लाटदेशः समाख्यातो वर्वरं शृणु पार्वति ॥५५
 मायापुरं समारभ्य सप्तशृंगात्तथोत्तरे ।

1. Read मगधो दक्षपूर्वे.

2. Usually शूर° or शौर°.

3. A-पाञ्चालात्. Read पाञ्चालः पूर्वभागे तु or पाञ्चालपूर्वभागस्तु.

4. A-सिलात् evidently for सिंहलात्.

5. A-पुलिन्द्र°; B-पुलिन्द्र°.

5a. See below, p. 105 and note 1.

6. Better read पांडुविराटयोर्मध्ये.

7. A-माद्रीकास्तत्र; C-माद्रीतत्त्वाऽत्र. Read माद्रीशस्तत्र, मद्रेशस्तत्र or मद्रेशी तत्र.

8. Read शूरसेनः.

9. AB-कण्ठकातः. Should we read कण्ठकः ?

10. A-देशः सर्वोत्तमोत्तमः; C-°धमोधमः.

11. Read पश्चिमोत्तरे.

वर्वराख्यो महादेशो सैन्धवं शृणु सादरम् ॥५६
 लंकाप्रदेशमारभ्य मक्कान्तं^१ परमेश्वरि ।
 सैन्धवाख्यो महादेशः पर्वते तिष्ठति प्रिये ॥५७
 एते षट्पञ्चाशद्देशा मया प्रोक्ता तव प्रिये^२ ।
 एतन्मध्येऽपि देवेशि देशभेदास्त्वनकशः ।
 कोटिशः सन्ति देवेशि एते मुख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥५८
 रहस्यातिरहस्यं च गोप्तव्यं^३ पशुसंकटे ।
 इति संक्षेपतः प्रोक्तं किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥५९

SUPPLEMENT^४

(*Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III,
 Chapter VIII)

श्रीदेव्युवाच ।

देवेश श्रोतुमिच्छामि पञ्च प्रस्थान^५ साम्प्रतम् ।
 इन्द्रप्रस्थं यमप्रस्थं वरुणप्रस्थमेव च ।
 कूर्मप्रस्थं महादेव देवप्रस्थं च पञ्चमम् ॥१
 इन्द्रप्रस्थं महेशानि शृणु वक्षे^७ यथाक्रमम् ।
 इन्द्रप्रस्थं महेशानि योगिनीसंयुतम्^८ ॥२
 मथुरागोकुलं पूर्व^९ भागे तस्य व्यवस्थितम् ।
 वृन्दावनं कोलदेशे हस्तिनापुरमुत्तरे ॥३

१. A —मच्छान्तं.

२. C—^०देशान्मया प्रोक्ताद्य भक्तिः. In the place of this stanza, A has a concluding verse which reads as follows after minor corrections :

षट्पञ्चाशन्मिता देशा मया प्रोक्ता तवानघे ।

तेषां शास्ता भवेद्यो वै चक्रवर्त्ती स उच्यते ॥

३. B—गोप्तकं.

४. From B only.

५. Read प्रस्थानि.

६. Read श्रीभगवानुवाच before this stanza. Better read पञ्च प्रस्थानि देवेशि in place of इन्द्रप्रस्थं महेशानि.

७. Read वक्ष्ये.

८. Read योगिनीपुरसंयुतम्.

९. Read पूर्व.

द्वारका पश्चिमायां च गदावर्तस्तु दक्षिणे ।
 इन्द्रप्रस्थं मध्यभागे कालिकामुखगोचरम् ॥४
 द्रावाही^१क्षेत्रमुद्दिष्टमिन्द्रप्रस्थं तदुच्यते ।
 सिंहासनं चाश्वपतेस्तदेव परिकीर्तितम् ॥५
 यमप्रस्थं महेशानि दक्षिणस्यां व्यवस्थितम् ।
 सोमेश्वरः पश्चिमायां सप्तशृंगात् पूर्वगाः^२ ॥६
 मायापुरं वामभागे व्यंकटेशस्तु दक्षिणे ।
 यमप्रस्थं भवेन्मध्ये कमलामुखगोचरम् ॥७
 शंखावर्त्तो भवेत्तत्र क्षेत्रं मायाभिधं भवेत् ।
 सिंहासनं नरपतेस्तदक्षे परिकीर्तितः^३ ॥८
ततः पूर्वं जगन्नाथः प्रान्ते कविपति भवेत्^४ ।
 वारुणाख्यं तथा देवि कथ्यते शृणु साम्प्रतम् ॥९
 मक्केश्वरः^५ पश्चिमायामुत्तरे हिगुला भवेत् ।
 त्रैलोक्यविजया देवि दक्षभागे प्रकीर्तिता ॥१०
 राजावर्त्तस्तत्र भवेत्तत्र शीतामुखं च तत् ।
 तदन्ते सागराः सप्त समुद्राश्च तदन्तके ॥११
 तावत् श्रीवारुणाख्यन्तु^६ प्रस्थं प्रोक्तं मया तव ।
 कूर्मप्रस्थं महेशानि कथ्यते शृणु साम्प्रतम् ॥१२
 गोकर्णेश^७ दक्षभागे कामाख्या पूर्वगोचरः^८ ।
 उत्तरे मानसेशः स्यात् पश्चिमे सारदा भवेत् ॥१३
 त्रिगुणा वर्त्तते तद्वि^९ वज्रस्यामुखमीरितम्^{१०} ।

1. The intended reading may be वाराही°.
2. Possibly we have to suggest सप्तशृगन्तु पूर्वके.
3. Read °कीर्तितम्.
4. Read °पतिर्भवेत्. *Kavi-pati* may be an error for *kari-pati*, i.e. *gaja-pati*.
5. Read °श्वरः.
6. Read तावच्छ्री°. But the rules of *sandhi* and metre are often disregarded.
7. Read गोकर्णेशो.
8. Read °गोचरा.
9. Possibly त्रिगुणावर्तस्तत्र हि.
10. Possibly वज्रं शी°.

षट्पचाशचाटि चामुंडागणैर्व्याप्तित्तु¹ तद्भवेत् ॥१४

पूर्वे वैरजनाथस्तूतरेऽमरकण्टकम्² ।

कांचीपुरं मध्यभागे मोहनावर्त्त मे(ए)व च ॥१५

ललिताया मुखं तच्च विद्यागणविभूषितम् ।

कामाख्यात्र समुद्दिष्टं महामन्त्रविभूषितम् ॥१६

नवलक्षमहाविद्या सगणे परिभूषितः³ ।

पंच प्रस्थानि देवेशि कथितानि मया तत्र ॥१७

1. Possibly षट्पचाशद्विंशचामुंडागणैर्व्याप्तित्तु.

2. Possibly पूर्वे वैरजनाथस्तु उत्तरे or पूर्वे वै चन्द्रनाथस्तु उत्तरे.

3. Possibly महाविद्याः स्वगणैः परिभूषिताः.

Fifty-six Countries

1. *Aṅga* (v. 2).

Aṅga is said to have extended from Vaidyanātha upto Bhuvaneśa. Vaidyanātha is no doubt the same as Baidyanāthdhām in the Santal Parganas District, very near the southern frontiers of the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts, in Bihār. Bhuvaneśa reminds us of the celebrated Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa.

The ancient Aṅga country is supposed to have comprised the present Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of Bihar excluding the parts lying to the north of the Ganges. Its capital Campā is believed to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Campā (modern Cāndan) and the two villages Campānagar and Campāpur, near Bhāgalpur, are supposed to represent the actual site of the ancient capital of Aṅga. Epigraphic evidence, however, seems to suggest the location of the ancient city near the Lakhisarai station on the Eastern Railway, in the western fringe of the Monghyr District.¹ There are traditions regarding the expansion of the boundary of the Aṅga country especially in the south. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*,² e.g., refers to the Aṅga city called Viṭaṅkapura which was situated on the seashore. The commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 6) places Aṅga to the east of the Mahānadī.

It will be seen that Baidyanāthdhām is situated near the southern limits of the original Aṅga country ; but Vaidyanātha may here indicate the district round the holy place, and the reference to Bhubaneśwar may point to the country's extension towards the Bay of Bengal. The verse appears to place Aṅga to the south of the Ganges, and it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence indicating the extension of the Aṅga country to the north of that river. According to some manuscripts of the

1. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, p. 8.

2. 25, 35; 26, 116; 82, 3-16.

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Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (see No. 37 below), Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva lay in the Jāṅgala-Jhārikhaṇḍa country which was situated to the north of the Dārukeśvara river and to the west of the Bhāgīrathī, between Pañcakūṭa (the former Pañcakot State in the Manbhum District) and Kikaṭa (the Gayā region in South Bihar).

2. *Vaṅga* (v. 3).

The country of *Vaṅga* is described as extending from the sea as far as the Brahmaputra. The sea is no doubt the Bay of Bengal in the south and Brahmaputra, the northern boundary, seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. *Vaṅga* therefore included the eastern part of the Sundarbans in the south and half of the Mymensingh District in the north. The verse seems to exclude the region to the east of the Brahmaputra and the Meghnā (cf. v. 37) and agrees with medieval epigraphic evidence which places the heart of *Vaṅga* in the *Vikramapura-bhāga* comprising the Munshiganj and Madaripur Subdivisions of the Dacca and Faridpur Districts of East Pakistan. The original habitat of the *Vaṅga* people has been discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. XI) below.

3-4. *Kaliṅga* (v. 4) and *Kāliṅga* (v. 5).

Kaliṅga extended from the east of Jagannātha as far as the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. Jagannātha here evidently refers to the celebrated deity in the shrine of Purī in the Purī District of Orissa. It is interesting to note that the Tantric texts recognise Purī as one of the Pīṭha-sthānas where the Bhairava is Jagannātha and the Bhairavī Vimalā. That the Purī region was also called Utkala is known from v. 42.

The name *Kaliṅga* has been used here in a wide sense. The *Mahābhārata* (III, 114, 4) recognises the Vaitaraṇī river as the north-eastern boundary of *Kaliṅga*, and at the time of Aśoka and Khāravēla it certainly comprised the Purī-Cuttack region in the east. At the time of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, the *Kaliṅga* kingdom extended from the Ganges to the Godāvarī. The statement in the commentary on the

Kāmasūtra (VI, 6) that Kalinga lies to the south of Gauḍa-viṣaya appears to indicate the extension of ancient Kalinga as far as the Ganges. The expansion of Kalinga from the Mahānadi to the river Kṛṣṇā in the south seems to be referred to in an inscription of the fifth century A.D.¹ The reference in our text may, however, be to the dominions of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa. Their empire originally included certain tracts lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, though they were later ousted from those areas by the kings of Vijayanagara.

On the southern confines of Kalinga was a country called Kālinga according to our text. But we do not know of any country of this name to the south of the Kṛṣṇā from any other source. The author probably refers to the Nellore-Guntur region which once formed parts of the dominions of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa.

5. *Kerala* including *Siddhikerala* (v. 6).

The Kerala country is said to have extended from Subrahmanya upto Janārdana and Siddhikerala to have formed a part of it. Roughly speaking, Kerala comprised the coastal region inhabited by the Malayālam-speaking people. But our text makes separate mention not only of two other Keralas called Haṁsa (v. 7) and Sarveśa (v. 8), but also of Malayāla (v. 15).

There are many temples of Subrahmanya (Kārttikeya) in South India and it is difficult to determine which of them is meant. The same is the case with Janārdana, as we can trace several Janārdana temples in the area in question. It is, however, possible that Subrahmanya here indicates the village of that name in the South Kanara District, which is famous for its temple and cattle fair, and that Janārdana is the temple at Varkala or Varkkalai between Quilon and Trivandrum.

6. *Haṁsa-Kerala* (v. 7).

The territory including Rāmeśvara and Veṅkaṭeśa is called Haṁsa-Kerala, a name otherwise unknown. The shrine of

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 114. Some allied topics have been discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. VII).

Rāmeśvara and the celebrated Veṅkaṭeśvara temple at Tirupati are quite well known; but it is difficult to determine whether they are acutally intended. If, however, the verse refers to the country from Rāmeśvara to Tirupati, the name Haṁsa-Kerala would appear to indicate the same territory as the old Drāviḍa.

7. *Sarveśa-Kerala* (v. 8).

The Kerala country designated by the name Sarveśa extended from the Ananta-śaila upto the city called Uḍupa. The Ananta hill may refer to Trivandrum which is known as Ananta-śayana or Anantapura. It is possible that the place is referred to by Varadarāja (17th century) whose *Saṁskṛtamañjarī* speaks of the southern Tīrthas called Janārdana-kṣetra, Gokaṛṇa-kṣetra (in the North Kanara District), Anantasena (śayana ?)-kṣetra, and Subrahmaṇya-kṣetra. Uḍupa-pura is possibly Uḍipi, headquarters of the Uḍipi Taluk in the South Kanara District. The celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint Madhva was born at Kalyāṇapura near Uḍipi.

8. *Kāśmīra* (v. 9).

Kāśmīra (Kashmir) is described as the country lying between the Śāradā-maṭha and the Kuṅkum-ādri and extending over 50 *yojanas*. The Kuṅkuma hill cannot be satisfactorily identified; but it may refer to the *Kuṅkuma* (saffron)-growing plateau above Pampur near Srinagar, capital of Kashmir.¹ Śāradā-maṭha is evidently modern Sardi near the confluence of the Kishenganga and Kankatori rivers in Kashmir. The shrine of the goddess Śāradā is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VIII, 2556, 2706). According to Stein, the old shrine is in complete ruins and it is substituted by the late Śāradā temple at Guṣa (ancient Ghoṣa) which is now visited by the pilgrims.²

9. *Kāmarūpa* (v. 10).

The country of Kāmarūpa is said to have extended from Kāleśvara to the Śveta-giri and from Tripura to the Nīla-parvata.

1. Cf. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 429.

2. See *Rājatar.*, trans., Vol. II, pp. 279, 289.

The 'Blue Mountain' seems to be the *Nīl-ādri* or *Nīlakūṭa*, the name of the *Kāmakhyā* hill according to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Ch. 79, v. 74). The *Gaṇeśa-giri* seems to be referred to as lying in the heart of *Kāmarūpa*. Tripura can be quite satisfactorily identified with Tripurā (Tipperah) which is now partly in East Pakistan. The heart of ancient *Kāmarūpa* was the Gauhati region of Assam. The celebrated temple of *Kāmākhyā*, called the *Yoni-pīṭha*, lies not far from the city of Gauhati. According to Hiuen-tsang, *Kāmarūpa* lay to the east of the *Kāratoyā*, while the *Yoginī Tantra* includes in the country the Brahmaputra valley together with Rangpur and Cochin.

10. *Mahārāṣṭra* (v. 11).

Mahārāṣṭra (i.e. the Marāṭhī-speaking area) extended from Tryambaka to Karṇāṭa, and comprised Ujjayinī, Mārjārātūrtha and Kolāpura-nivāsini. Tryambaka is certainly the celebrated Tryambakeśvara Śiva-līṅga near Nāsik and here indicates the whole of the Nasik area. Ujjain and Kolhāpur are also well-known localities. Kolāpura-nivāsini appears to be the goddess Mahālakṣmī of the great shrine at Kolhāpur. As has already been pointed out, the inclusion of Ujjain appears to refer to the Marāṭhā conquest of Malwa during the rule of Peshwā Bājī Rāo I (1720-40 A. D.); and in that case we have to assume that the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, or at least the *Deśavibhāga* section of it, was composed not earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. Karṇāṭa of this verse seems to be different from that of v. 16 and to indicate the original Karṇāṭa, i.e. the Kannaḍa-speaking area. It is interesting to note that the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 29) commentary (middle of the thirteenth century) locates *Mahārāṣṭra* between the Narmadā and Karṇāṭa:

11. *Andhra* (v. 12).

Andhra is said to have been the country which has Jagannātha above and Bhramarāmbikā below. Jagannātha is the celebrated god of Purī; but here the district round the shrine seems to be indicated. Bhramarāmbikā is no doubt the famous Bhramarāmbā who is one of the 18 Śaktis in India and is enshrined

on the Śrīśaila with the god Mallikāṛjuna, one of the 12 Jyotirliṅgas. It has to be noted that our author separates Andhra from Tailaṅga (v. 14) and also from Kālīṅga (vv. 4-5).

12. *Saurāṣṭra* or *Gurjara* (v. 13).

From Koṅkaṇa up to Hīṅgulāja in the west lies, according to the verse, the Saurāṣṭra country covering a hundred *yojanas* on the coast. This country has also been called Gurjara. Koṅkaṇa is the strip of land between the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea, and Hīṅgulāja is the famous Tirtha of Hīṅglāj near the Arabian Sea (between lat. 25° and 26° and long. 65° and 66°), more than 100 miles to the west of Karachi.

Surāṣṭra originally indicated the southern part of Kathiawar; but in the later period the name Gujarāt is found to be used in a wide sense to comprise the whole of Kathiawar and the adjoining regions. The verse in question gives a wide extent of the country. It must, however, be remembered that from a pilgrim's point of view Gujarāt may be roughly placed between the Northern Koṅkan (comprising the modern Thana District of Bombay State) and the district round Hīṅglāj. Pilgrims seem to have reached Somanātha in Kathiawar by boat from the Northern Koṅkan and then proceeded to Hīṅglāj again by boat.¹

13. *Tailaṅga* (v. 14).

From the Śrīśaila up to the middle of the distance between the same and Coleśa lies the Tailaṅga country. Coleśa may indicate the god of the celebrated Brhadeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr. Tailaṅga is the same as the name Telengana and is related to *Telugu*. But the origin of this geographical name is unknown. The author's separation of Tailaṅga from Andhra (v. 11) is comparable to that of Kālīṅga from Kālīṅga (vv. 4-5). Really Tailaṅga means the Telugu-speaking area which is the same as Andhra.² An inscription³ of 1358 A. D. gives the following

1. Cf. v. 57.

2. The description does not suit the present Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 90.

boundaries of the Tiliṅga or Tailaṅga country :

पश्चात्पुरस्ताद्यस्य देशौ महाराष्ट्रकलिगसंज्ञौ ।

अवागुदक् पांड्यककान्यकुब्जौ देशस्स तत्रास्ति तिलिगनामा ॥

that is, the Telugu country is bounded by Mahārāṣṭra in the west, Kālīṅga in the east, Pāṇḍya in the south and Kānyakubja in the north. There is reference here to the old empire of the Kākatīyas. Of course, in this age, the Kānyakubja country was no longer a political unit; but the reference may be to the empire of the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi.

14. *Malayāla* (v. 15).

The Malayāla country, which is separated from the tracts called Kerala (vv. 6-8), is described as lying between Mūkāmbikā and the Malay-ādri. The Malay-ādri or Malaya range has been identified with the Travancore hills. The goddess is no doubt one of the same name worshipped at Kollūr or Barkalūr in the northern part of the South Kanara District, formerly in Madras but now in Mysore. This goddess is mentioned in inscriptions like C.P. Nos. 3-6A of *A.R.Ep.*, 1927-28, and in stone inscription No.403 of the same year. See also the *Śivatattva-ratnākara*, Kallola V, Ch. I, vv. 27ff.

15. *Karṇāṭa* (v. 16).

The Karṇāṭa country is said to have extended from Rāmanātha upto Śrīraṅga. Śrīraṅga is either Śrīraṅgam opposite Tañjāvūr on the other side of the Kāverī or Śrīraṅgapattana (Seringapatam) near Mysore. Rāmanātha seems to be either the Rāmanāthapuram (former Ramnad) District, or the Rāmanātha Maṭha in the Madurai District, or the Rāmeśvara Tīrtha near the junction of the rivers Tuṅga and Bhadra.¹ The possible reference to Śrīraṅgam or Ramnad as a boundary of Karṇāṭa suggests that it is not the ancient Karṇāṭa country, the heart of which was in the Kannaḍa-speaking land, *Kannaḍa* being the same as Sanskrit *Karṇāṭa*. With the expansion of the empire of the Kanarese kings of Vijayanagara, the name Karṇāṭa

1. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 377, 397. This was however a very small place which has not yet been identified.

extended over a large part of the Deccan. After the battle of Talikoṭa in 1665 A.D., the Vijayanagara kings withdrew first to Candragiri (Chittoor District) and then to Vellore (North Arcot District). But, as has already been indicated, even when their kingdom became confined to a very small area far away from ancient Karṇāṭa, they were known as the Rāyas of Karṇāṭaka. About the end of the seventeenth century, Zulfiqār Ali Khān (circa 1692-1703 A.D.), the progenitor of the Nawābs of Arcot, was created the 'Nawāb of the Carnatic (Karṇāṭaka).' It is not impossible that the verse actually refers to the kingdom of these Nawābs of the Carnatic.

16. *Avanti* (v. 17).

Avanti is described as extending from the Tāmraparṇī as far as the northern side of some hills and as the place of the goddess Kālikā. This Tāmraparṇī is an unknown river and not the celebrated rivulet of that name in the extreme south of India.¹ The hills referred to may be the Western Vindhya.

Avanti is generally identified with the district round Ujjain (in the former Gwalior State) which was its capital.² Kālikā mentioned in the verse is evidently the Śakti of the celebrated Mahākālā of Ujjain.

17. *Vidarbha* (v. 18).

The country of Vidarbha is said to have been situated to the east of Bhadrakālī and to the west of Rāmadurga or with Rāmadurgā to its west. This Bhadrakālī appears to be the same goddess as Kālikā [of Ujjain] mentioned in the preceding verse. Rāmadurga reminds us of the former State of this name in the South Marāṭhā country lying between Belgaum and Bijapur, although it is far from Vidarbha, i.e. modern Berar. The Ujjain region lies to the north or north-west of Berar. Even if we accept an old tradition according to which Avanti included the Māhiṣmatī (modern Māndhātā in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the former Indore State) region on the Narmadā,

1. See above, p. 52, note 5.

2. Cf. Mālava below, No. 20.

it cannot be placed to its west. I have therefore suggested the reading *Bhadrakālī-dakṣapūrve*, 'to the south-east of Bhadrakālī'.

18. *Maru* (v. 19).

The Maru country seems to be described as lying to the north-west of the Gujarāt region and to the north of Dvārakā and also as famous for its camels. It is the great Indian desert called the Thar or Rājputānā desert. The land no doubt also includes the Mārwar (i.e. Maru) or Jodhpur area.

19. *Ābhīra* (v. 20).

The Ābhīra country appears to be placed on the Vindhya between the Koṅkaṇa in the south and the Tāpī or Tāptī in the north-west.

The Ābhīras originally lived in the desert ; but they gradually pushed towards the south.¹ In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., Aberia or the Ābhīra country lay not far from Surāṣṭra or Southern Kathiawar. In the 3rd century A.D., the Ābhīras founded a kingdom comprising parts of the Northern Koṅkan and the Nāsik region. But it is difficult to believe that this area was called Ābhīra in the late medieval period. The reference seems to be to the Ahirwas fort in the former Indore State, lying at lat. 22° 31', long. 76° 31'. But, in that case, we have to read *śrī-Koṅkaṇāt purva-bhāge*, since the area in question does not lie to the south of the Koṅkaṇ. The *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 4, 24) commentary applies the name Ābhīra to the tracts including Śrīkaṇṭha (Thanesar) and Kuru-kṣetra.

20. *Mālava* (v. 21)

The great country of Mālava is described as lying to the east of Avanti and to the north of the Godāvāri. The verse evidently indicates Eastern Malwa, the ancient name of which was Ākara or Daśārṇa having its capital at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in the former Gwalior State). It has to be noticed that the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 22 and 24) mentions Avanti and Mālava separately and its commentary identifies Mālava with Pūrva-Mālava and gives the name Avanti to the Ujjain region. Bāṇa's

1. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 221 ff.

Kādambarī supports the same tradition when it associates Mālava ladies with the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) surrounding Vidiśā and speaks of Ujjayinī as a city of the Avanti country in the present West Malwa.¹

21. *Cola* (v. 22).

The Cola country is said to have been situated between Drāviḍa and Tailaṅga (v. 14), and the three countries, which were very similar to one another, were also known generally as the [land of the] Lambakarnas.

The Cola country proper was the Tañjāvūr-Tirucirāppalli region. The verse, however, appears to refer to the country of the Telugu Coḍas of the Anantapur-Cuddappa area.

22. *Pāñcāla* (v. 23).

Pāñcāla appears to have been described as lying at 13 or 30 *yojanas* from Indraprastha with Kuru-kṣetra both in the west and the north. Indraprastha is the modern Delhi region and Kuru-kṣetra was the country to the south of the Sarasvatī and to the north of the Dṛṣadvatī, in the Karnal-Ambala region of the Eastern Punjab.

Ancient Pāñcāla was divided into two divisions, viz., the northern and the southern, and the former comprised roughly the modern Rohilkhand Division of U. P. Ahicchatrā, capital of North Pāñcāla, has been identified with modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District, while Kāmpilya, which was the capital of South Pāñcāla, has been located at modern Kāmpil in the Farrukhabad District to the south of the Ganges.

23. *Kāmboja* (v. 24).

The Kāmboja country is described as extending from Pāñcāla and lying to the south-east of the Mleccha country. This Mleccha is apparently the same as Mahā-Mleccha of v. 28 and indicates the Muslim countries on the north-western borders of medieval India.²

1. Cf. Siddhāntavāgīśa's ed., pp. 19, 183.

2. Cf. Nos. 25 and 27 below.

The ancient Kāmbojas may be supposed to have lived in various settlements in the wide area between the Punjab and Balkh (cf. No. 27). From a pilgrim's standpoint therefore the country may have been described as having Pāñcāla in the south-east and the Muhammadan countries in the north-west. The horses of the Kāmboja country are often found mentioned in literature and inscriptions. The Kāmbojas living in Aśoka's empire are mentioned in his inscriptions along with the Yavanas or Greeks of the Kabul valley and Kandahar where an edict in two versions meant for these two peoples has been discovered.

24. *Virāṭa* (v. 25).

The country called Virāṭa or Vairāṭa is placed to the north of Vidarbha, to the south of Indraprastha and to the east of Maru-deśa.

Of course Vidarbha is far to the south ; but the ancient Virāṭa or Matsya country actually lay in the Alwar-Bharatpur-Jaipur region to the south of the Delhi area and to the east of the desert. Vidarbha was never its southern boundary ; but it may have been mentioned as a country lying in the south—whatever be the distance—of the Virāṭa country. One of the Śākta Pīṭhas is said to be in Virāṭa where the Devī is Ambikā and the Bhairava Amṛta. There was a Virāṭa country in Northern Bengal, according to some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.¹ The Nivṛti country (comprising Vardhanakūṭa = Bardhankot, Kacchapa = Cochbihār or, more probably, Kachhar, and Rangpur) has there been described as :

निवृत्तिः सा च यत्रैव जनिष्यति तृणादिकम् ।

वरेन्द्रोत्तरभागे च विराटस्य च सन्निधौ ।

बंगस्य पश्चिमोत्तरे निवृत्तिविषयो मतः ॥

This Virāṭa is apparently connected with the 'Birāt-rājār Garh' in the Rangpur District, or Bairāṭṭā in the Dinajpur District, in the northern part of Bengal and has nothing to do with the country of the same name mentioned in our text.

1. See No. 37 below.

25. *Pāṇḍu* (v. 26).

The Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍya country is placed to the south of Kāmboja and to the west of Indraprastha or the Delhi region.

It is interesting to note that there is evidence of the existence of an ancient Pāṇḍu country in the Punjab. Ptolemy's Geography¹ places the country of Pandouoi (i.e. Pāṇḍava) about the Bidaspes=Vitastā=Jhelam and includes in it Sagala=Sākala=Siālkot. Poros (i. e. Puru or Paurava), contemporary of Alexander, evidently belonged to this Pāṇḍu country. The *Vedic Index* suggests that either the Jhelam region was the early home of the Purus where some remained while others migrated to the east, or that region was later conquered by the Purus who had been settled in the east. But it is difficult to determine how this ancient tradition finds an echo in the late medieval text before us.

26. *Videha* or *Tairabhukti* (v. 27).

The Videha country, also called Tirabhukta or Tairabhukti, is described as extending from the banks of the Gaṇḍakī as far as the Camp-āraṇya. Gaṇḍakī-tīra here appears to indicate the southern boundary of the country and the place where the modern Gaṇḍak falls into the Ganges. Camp-āraṇya is the modern Campāraṇ which seems to be the northern boundary. The name Tirabhukti still survives in the modern form *Tīrhut*. It is the same as the Darbhānga-Muzaffarpur region of Upper Bihar to the north of the Ganges.

27. *Bāhlika* (v. 28).

The Bāhlika country is said to be bordering on Kāmboja and situated to the east of Mahā-Mleccha. Bāhlika was Bactria (modern Balkh) in the north of Afghanistan; but Vāhika was an old name of the Punjab. The reading Bāhlika is better as the country is placed between Kāmboja and the great Mleccha world of the west. It is interesting to note that the Kāmbojas, elsewhere associated with Pāñcāla (v. 24), are here connected with the northern part of Afghanistan.

1. VII, i, 46.

28. *Kirāta* (v. 29).

The *Kirāta* country is described as extending from *Tapta-kunḍa* as far as *Rāma-kṣetra* and as lying on the *Vindhya*s. *Tapta-kunḍa* may indicate the hot springs at *Rājgir* in the *Patna District*, *Bihar*, or those near *Monghyr*. *Rāma-kṣetra* may be *Rāma-giri* or *Rāmték*. *Kirāta* here seems to indicate some *Vindhyan hill tribes*, though in old literature they are usually connected with the *Himalayan region*. The fact is that such names as *Pulinda* and *Kirāta* really indicated particular hill tribes; but later their meaning expanded so as to signify any hill tribe.

29. *Vakrānta* (v. 30).

The *Vakrānta* country is said to have extended from the *Karatoyā* as far as *Hiṅgulāja* and abounded in a large number of *Mlecchas*. The *Karatoyā* river mentioned here is not easy to identify; but the reference to the *Hiṅglāj* area as one of the bordering regions suggests that *Vakrānta-deśa* is possibly not *Wakhan*, but very probably *Makran* between *Baluchistan* and *Persia*. *Pargiter*¹ notices three *Karatoyās*; the first a tributary of the *Brahmaputra* in *North Bengal*, the second belonging to the *Himalayan region* in *North India* and the third rising from the *Vindhyan range*. The second seems to be indicated in the verse; but the plurality of the name may have been caused by wrong readings.

30. *Khurāśana* (v. 31).

The country called *Khurāśana* (*Khorashan*) is described as extending from the *Hiṅgu-pītha*, i.e. *Hiṅgulāja*, upto *Makkeśa*. *Makkeśa*, 'lord of Mecca', is an imaginary *Śiva-liṅga* at Mecca, the most sacred of the Muslim holy places. According to a popular Bengali tradition, apparently influenced by the *Tantras*, in an underground room underneath the floor of the *Kaaba* at Mecca there lies *Śiva in deep sleep*; pious Hindus are never allowed to approach him; if, however, a devout Hindu could place on his

1. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 301.

head a *bilva-patra* only once, the god would at once rise up and destroy all the Muhammadans of the world.

Khorashan is the north-eastern province of Persia, to the west of Afghanistan ; but the name here seems to be employed to indicate the kingdom of Persia as known in the late medieval period.

31. *Airāka* (v 31).

In the northern part of the country of Khurāšana, i.e. the Persian kingdom or Western Asia, is placed Airāka, i.e. Iraq.

32. *Bhoṭānta* (v. 33).

The Bhoṭānta country is said to have extended from Kāśmīra and lay to the west of Kāmarūpa and to the south of Mānaseśa. Bhoṭānta is evidently Bhoṭān and Mānaseśa refers to the god Śiva at the Mānasa lake (Mānsarovar) in the Himalayas. Modern Bhoṭān is a small state to the north of Bengal ; but the Tibetan people are also known as Bhauṭṭa or Bhoṭa. Taken in this wider sense, Bhoṭānta may actually be placed between Kāśmīra in the west and Kāmarūpa in the east.

33. *Cīna* (v. 34).

Cīna-deśa is described as lying to the south-east of Mānaseśa. The country to the south-east of the Mānasa-sarovara is Tibet which appears to be indicated by the name Cīna in the verse. Tibet formed a part of the dominions of the Chinese emperors. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbarī* refers to 'Pegu which former writers called Cheen, accounting this to be the capital city', and seems to include Burma in the Cīna country.¹ According to Pargiter, Cīna comprised the country of Tibet 'along the whole range of the Himalayas'.² The Cīnas are sometimes linked in the *Mahā-bhārata* with the Kāmbojas of the north-west³ and often mentioned among the retinue of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam in

1. Jarrett's trans., Vol. II, ed. Sarkar, p. 132.

2. *Mārk. Pur.*, trans., p. 319, note.

3. VI, 9, 66.

Teaching of Puranas Palm. I. 53, 82

There is no reference to Gurjara as in of this country, as Mr A. M. T. Jackson P.

There is no fault in the statement of Mr. Campbell that the tribes of Agrikula helped Brah against Buddhas who were suppressed by the Vaishnavas and Saivas specially Sankaracarya.

Mr Baden Powell did not know the history of ancient Republican tribes specially that the Āyudho-jit ganas viz Yaudheyas, Arjunayana and Malavas etc.

It is really surprising to learn that the eminent scholar like Prof D. R. Bhandarkar believed in the foreign origin of Vāsudeva which who is called as Purvaṣṭi in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Kṛṣṇa cannot be identified with Gurjara.

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the east¹ and are also sometimes placed near the source of the Ganges in the country lying midway between the two regions.²

34. *Mahā-Cīna* (v. 35)

The Mahācīna country is said to have extended from the Kailāsa-giri and from the place of origin of the Sarayū as far as Moṅga. Mount Kailāsa is that part of the Himalayan range which lies to the north of the Mānasa-sarovara and the origin of the Sarayū (Ghogra) is not far off. Moṅga and its variations appear to refer to Mongolia to the north of China. Mahācīna therefore refers to China proper.³ The suggestion is supported by the fact that in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang described his native country as 'the Mahācīna of the Indians'.⁴

35. *Nepāla* (v. 35).

The country of Nepāla is placed between Jateśvara and Yoginī which seems to refer to Yoginipura or Delhi. The Nepāla country to the north of Bihār and U.P. is well-known ; but Jateśvara cannot be satisfactorily identified. It is possible that the original reading was Jalpeśvara, the famous Śiva of the Jalpaiguri District in North Bengal, sometimes referred to in the later Puranic literature.

36. *Śilahaṭṭa* (v. 36).

The country called Śilahaṭṭa is described as extending from Gaṇeśvara as far as the sea. Gaṇeśvara appears to be identical with Gaṇeśa-giri placed in the heart of the country of Kāmarūpa (v. 10). Śilahaṭṭa is no doubt modern Sylhet which however does not now extend up to the Bay of Bengal. The land lying to the east of the Meghna in South-East Bengal (now mostly in East Pakistan) seems to be included in Śilahaṭṭa.

1. V, 19, 15.

2. III, 177, 12.

3. For Cīna and Mahācīna, see Hobson-Jobson, s.v. *China* and *Machven*. The evidence of our text is supported by the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, trans. Jarrell and Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 131.

4. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 349.

37. *Gauḍa* (v. 38).

Gauḍa is said to have extended from the *Vaṅga* country upto *Bhuvaneśa* (i.e. *Bhubaneswar* in *Orissa*). In modern times, *Gauḍa* implies the whole area inhabited by the Bengali-speaking people. Originally, however, the country seems to have comprised the present *Murshidabad* District with the exclusion of its southernmost part. The Chinese traveller *Hiuen-tsang* describes *Karnasuvarṇa* as the name of both the kingdom and capital of *Śaśāṅka* who has been called 'the lord of *Gauḍa*' in the *Harṣacarita*. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the *Raktamṛttikā-vihāra* lay in the suburbs of the *Karnasuvarṇa* city and the country was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery referred to has been located at modern *Rāṅgāmāṭi* (Sanskrit *Rakta-mṛttikā*), the identification of the *Karnasuvarṇa* or *Gauḍa* country with the *Murshidabad* District is plausible. This identification is again supported by an interpolated section of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*,¹ which says :

पुण्ड्रदेशे सप्तदेशास्तेषां नामानि वै शृणु ।
 गौडो वरेन्द्रो निवृत्तिः सुद्धदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
 जांगलो झारिखंडश्च वराहभूमिरेव च ।
 वर्द्धमानो विध्यपाश्वरे सप्तते परिकीर्तितः ॥
 पद्मानद्या दक्षभागे वर्द्धमानस्य चोत्तरे ।
 गौडदेशः स विज्ञेयो गौडेशी यत्र तिष्ठति ॥

It is said that *Gauḍa* (comprising *Navadvīpa*, *Śāntipūra*, *Maulapattana* and *Kaṇṭakapattana*) lies between the river *Padmā* and the *Vardhamāna* district and forms a part of *Puṇḍra*, a name here used to indicate Bengal without its south-eastern part, but with some parts of *Bihār* and *Orissa*. The southern part of the *Malda* District comprising the site of the city of *Gauḍa* (*Gaur*) seems to have been to the south of the *Ganges* and included in the *Gauḍa* country in the early medieval period, and the capitals of some of the *Pāla* and *Sena* kings in *Gauḍa* were situated near the modern site of *Gaur*. Our work divides Bengal in two broad divisions, viz. *East Bengal* (*Vaṅga*) and *West Bengal*

1. MS. No. 3582 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

(Gauḍa). It is interesting in this connection to note that Muslim historians sometimes called this country 'Gaur-Bangāl.' Gauḍa offers one of the numerous instances of the expansion of the connotation of a geographical term.¹

38. *Mahā-Kośala* (v. 38).

The Mahā-Kośala country is placed to the south of Gokarṇeśa, to the north of Āryāvarta, to the west of Tairabhukti and to the east of Mahāpurī. Gokarṇa is the name of a village on the Bāgamatī in Nepāl. Āryāvartta is not the same as that (=North India) defined by Manu, but the Tantric Āryāvartta defined as

विन्ध्योत्तरगतेनैव मगधाच्चापरेण तु ।

हिमाद्रेर्दक्षिणे भागे पाञ्चालात्पूर्वतस्तथा ॥

आर्यावर्त्त इति ख्यातः.....²

Mahāpurī appears to refer to Delhi which was the capital of the Mughal emperors at the time of the composition of the work to which the verse belongs. Mahā-Kośala is no doubt the same as old Kośala ruled by the Sūrya-vamśī kings from their capital at Ayodhyā, near modern Fyzābād in Oudh (Ayodhyā). The name Mahā-Kośala thus appears to be wrongly applied now to indicate South Kośala, i.e. the Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.³ If we prefer the reading *sarvataḥ* to *pūrvataḥ*, Mahāpurī would possibly indicate Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of the Kośala *janapada*.

39. *Magadha* (v. 39).

The great country of Magadha is described as extending from Kāleśvara or Vyāseśvara as far as the Tapta-kunḍa. Kāleśvara is evidently the celebrated Kāla-Bhairava of Banāras and Vyāseśvara reminds us of Vyāsa-Kāśī. Tapta-kunḍa seems to refer to the hot springs (e.g., Sītākunḍa) near Monghyr. The Magadha *deśa* is therefore placed between the Benares region and the Monghyr District. The ancient Magadha country comprised the present Patna and Gaya Districts of South Bihar

1. Cf. Chapter V below.

2. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 108.

3. See Pargiter, *Mārk. Pur.*, trans., pp. 308, 342.

and had its capital originally at Rājagrha (Rājgir) and then at Pāṭaliputra (near Pāṭnā), both in the present Patna District.

40. *Kikaṭa* (v. 40).

The Kikaṭa country is placed in the southern part of Magadha, the northern half of which is called Magadha proper. Kikaṭa is described as extending from the Caraṇ-ādri upto Gṛdhrakūṭa. The celebrated Gṛdhrakūṭa or 'Vulture Peak' (modern Śaila-giri) was situated near Rājagrha, modern Rājgir in the Patna District. Caraṇ-ādri appears to indicate either the Viṣṇupada hill at Gayā, or Chūnār. In the Purāṇic literature, Kikaṭa is essentially connected with the Gayā region. But the traditional indentifications of Kikaṭa with Gayā-pradeśa and with Magadha appear to be both right. The verse under study indicates that originally the Gayā region was called Kikaṭa and the Pāṭnā region Magadha ; but soon the former became a part of the latter.

41. *Utkala* (v. 41).

The country which had Jagannātha (the god in the shrine at Purī on the sea) on the boundary is described as Utkala. The original cōnotation of the name and its later expansion have been discussed in the separate chapter below, pp. 134 ff.

42. *Śrikuntala* (v. 43).

The country called Śrikuntala is placed between the Kāma-giri and Dvārakā. V. 44 shows that the Kāma-giri was far to the north of the desert. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an inscription of 1176 A.D.¹ represents a ruler of the Kāma country as a tributary to the king of the Sapādalakṣa Mountain (i.e. the Siwalik range). It is also not impossible that the name ~~Kāma has something to do with that of Kumaon.~~ The Śrikuntala country thus appears to be placed between the Siwalik-Kumaon region in the north and Dvārakā in the south. Śrikuntala is, however, otherwise unknown and the well-known Kuntala lies in the Kanarese area. Is Śrikuntala a mistake

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 342.

for Śrīkaṇṭhaka or the Thānesar region? The wide extent of the Śrīkaṇṭha country can, however, only be accepted if we refer to the time of Harṣavardhana (606-47 A.D.), king of Thānesar and Kanauj.

Pargiter¹ notices three Kuntalas, one in the Deccan, the second near Chūnār to the south of Banāras and the third 'in the west'. This third Kuntala may be indicated in the verse. It is, however, probable that this plurality of Kuntala as accepted by Pargiter is due to wrong readings which might have misled even the author of the verse in question.

43. *Hūṇa* (v. 44)

Hūṇa-deśa is placed to the south of the Kāma-giri (see No. 42) and to the north of Maru-deśa, i.e. the Desert, and is called the land of heroes. The Hūṇas had a place in Indian politics even long after the disintegration of the extensive empire of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The *Harṣacarita* places the Hūṇa country in the Punjab region practically suggesting the same area as the verse under study. Hūṇa royal houses are mentioned in the records of the Pratihāras, Kalacuris and others. The Hūṇas are ultimately known to have been regarded as one of the 36 clans of the Rajputs.

44. *Koṅkaṇa* (v. 45).

Koṅkaṇa has been described as lying on the sea-coast. It seems to have extended from the Ghaṭṭa as far as the middle of the district round Koṭīśa. The Koṅkaṇ, as we know, is the strip of land between the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea. Ghaṭṭa therefore appears to indicate the Western Ghāṭs, while Koṭīśa reminds us of the famous Koṭeśvara Mahādeva near the sea, not far from Bhuj, the headquarters of Kutch. But this Koṭeśvara is far away from the Koṅkaṇ. Our Koṭīśa may be the same as Saptakoṭīśvara of the inscriptions, and coins of the Kadambas of Goa.²

2. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 308.

2. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 288 ff. ; Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 383-84.

45. *Kaikaya* (v. 46).

Kaikaya is placed between the Brahmaputra and Kāmarūpa. The ancient Kekaya country lay in the Punjab to the east of Gandhāra (the Peshawar-Rāwalpindi region). But a Kekaya kingdom is known to have existed in the northern part of Mysore in the fifth century A.D.¹ The Kaikaya country mentioned in our verse seems to be a place in North-East Bengal, which was possibly connected by local traditions with the ancient Kekayas of the Punjab. Kaikaya here may even indicate the land of the Kukis in Assam and Manipur. (It this identification is accepted, it shows how such tribal names were given a classical colour in the late medieval works.

46. *Śaurasena* (v. 47).

The Śaurasena country seems to be described as extending from Magadha in the south-east upto the territory to the west of the Vindhya. The ancient Śūrasena people lived in the Mathurā region. Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and to their cities Methora (Mathurā) and Kleisobora (possibly Kṛṣṇapura = Gokula). This old Śūrasena or Śaurasena country therefore had nothing to do with Magadha, the ancient name of South Bihār. It must, however, be remembered that our author extends Magadha as far as the Banāras district in the west. He possibly believed that the Śaurasena country extended from the Banāras region up to the Mathurā district which is to the west (actually to the north-west) of the Vindhyan range. It may also be suggested that the text requires emendation and that the intention was to say 'to the north of the Vindhya.' It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 9, 28) commentary locates Śaurasena *Kauśāmbiyāḥ dakṣiṇataḥ* (sic. *pāścimataḥ*) *kūle* [*Yamunāyāḥ*].

47. *Kuru* (v. 48).

The Kuru country appears to be described as extending from the Hastināpura region and as lying to the south of the Kuru-kṣetra tract, with Pāñcāla lying in the east. Hastināpura, capital

1. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 313 ff.

of the Kuru country, has been identified with a locality in the Meerut District, U. P. According to the *Mahābhārata*,¹

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च ।

ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥

that is to say, the land called Kuru-kṣetra lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī in the Eastern Punjab. This land has been called Brahmāvarta in the *Manusmṛiti*.² The verse placing the Kuru country practically between Kuru-kṣetra on the Dṛṣadvatī and Pāñcāla says nothing against the epic tradition.

48. *Siṃhala* (v. 49).

The great country called Siṃhala, the best of all countries, is placed to the east of Maru-deśa and to the south of the Kām-ādri. This Siṃhala cannot be identified with Ceylon. It is evidently in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and reminds us of the kingdom of Siṃhapura mentioned by Hiuen-tsang. The capital of this kingdom has been identified with Khetas or Katas in the Jhelum District, which is, next to Jvālāmukhī, the most frequented place of pilgrimage in the Punjab. Tantric literature locates Sambhala (probably, Siṃhala) and Laṅkāpurī in the Swat-Kashmir region.³

49. *Pulinda* (v. 50).

The country of Pulinda is placed to the east of Śilahatṭa and possibly to the south of Kāmarūpa. The text reads 'to the north of Kāmarūpa'; but no locality to the north of Kāmarūpa, the heart of which was the Gauhati region in Assam, could have anything to do with Śilahatṭa, i.e. modern Sylhet. The Pulindas were a hill tribe usually connected with the Vin-dhyan range. Pargiter⁴ notices several branches of the Pulinda tribe, viz. (1) a western branch, (2) a Himalayan branch related to the Kirātas and the Taṅgas, and (3) a southern branch.

1. III, 83, 4 and 205.

2. II, 17.

3. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

4. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., pp. 316, 335, 338.

The second branch may be intended here, though the plurality of the name may be due either to misreadings in the manuscripts or to the fact that the term was sometimes used to indicate *any* hill tribe. Pulinda of our text may possibly refer to tribes of the hills of Assam, but more probably to the land of the Paliyās or Rājbarṃśīs of North Bengal.

50. *Kaccha* (v. 51).

The Kaccha country is placed to the east of Gaṇeśvara and to the north of the sea, and is possibly also called Sevana. If Gaṇeśvara is the same as Gaṇeśa-giri in the heart of Kāmarūpa, Kaccha may be identified with Kacchapa (possibly Kacchar Cochbihār) placed by the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* in the north-eastern region of Vaṅga.¹ But the expression 'to the north of the sea' seems to indicate Kutch. The identification of Kaccha and Sevana, possibly suggested in the verse, offers another difficulty. Sevana, i.e. Seuna-deśa, was the name of modern Khandesh. It indicated the kingdom of the Yādavas who had their capital first at Sinnar near Nasik and then at Devagiri, modern Daulatābād in the Aurangabad District of the former Hyderabad State. The Seuna country may therefore have been the Nasik-Daulatabad region or even the vast kingdom conquered by the powerful kings of the Yādava dynasty. But it is doubtful if the memory of the Yādava age lingered down to the late medieval period. Kaccha may possibly also indicate the district round Bhṛgu-kaccha, modern Broach near the mouth of the Narmadā. The meaning of the word *kaccha* appears to be 'a region on the sea-coast,' and it is possible that different *Kacchas* (including Kutch and Kacchapa), referred to above, have been confused in the verse. As to Kacchapa, a medieval tradition refers to the expansion of the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) in the heart of Bengal as far north as Devikōṭṭa or Bāṅgarh in the Dinajpur District, now in East Pakistan.² Long ago the sea no doubt touched the central areas of Bengal at least through the mouths of the big rivers falling in it. But the medieval tradition referred

1. See No. 24; cf. No. 37.

2. Cf. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XVII, p. 471.

to above is no doubt due to the existence of big lakes called *bils*, like the Chalan, in the Rajshahi-Bogra-Mymensing area.

The language of the verse may suggest that Sevana was different from Kaccha, the discription of the former having been omitted through oversight. But in that case, the number of countries would be more than fifty-six.¹

51. *Matsya* (v. 52).

The Matsya country is placed to the north of Pulinda and to the east of Kaccha. This country is described as abounding in fish. If Pulinda of this verse is the same as that in verse 50, and Kaccha is the same as Kacchapa (Kacchar or Cochbihār), this *Matsya-deśa* may be identified with *Virāṭa* placed to the north-east of Bengal in a verse of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.² *Virāṭa* was the celebrated epic king of the Matsya country which has been located in the Alwar-Jaipur-Bharatpur region and its capital *Virāṭa-nagara* has been identified with modern *Bairāt* in the former Jaipur State. But this ancient Matsya country seems to be mentioned in our text as *Virāṭa* (verse 25). It is difficult to say whether the author's intention was to distinguish between Matsya and *Virāṭa*, both located in the same area or whether he has made a confusion between the actual Matsya country in Eastern Rajasthan and a tract of land in Bengal.

52. *Madra* (v. 53).

The Madra country is located south-eastwise between *Vairāṭa* and *Pāṇḍya*. *Vairāṭa* is evidently the same as *Virāṭa* (No. 24) and *Pāṇḍya* the same as *Pāṇḍu* (No. 25). The ancient Madra people lived about the modern Sialkot District of the Punjab. Their capital *Śākala* has been identified with Sialkot. Madra however has been used here in a wider sense, as *Virāṭa* or Matsya lay far to the south of the ancient Madra country.

53. *Sauvīra* (v. 54).

The *Sauvīra* country seems to be placed to the west of *Saurasena* and to the east of *Kaṇṭhaka* and is called the worst

1. Cf. however p. 71, verse 8 of Group I and verse 5 of Group II.

2. See No. 24 (above, p. 93).

of all countries. Ancient Sauvira was situated to the east of the Lower Indus and included Multan in the north. Śaurasena, *i.e.* the Mathurā region, was far to the east. Kaṇṭhaka cannot be satisfactorily identified ; but it reminds us of the Kathaioi tribe located by the classical authors between the Jhelam and the Chinab. This Kaṇṭhaka does not appear to be identical with Śrīkaṇṭha in the eastern part of the Punjab. Or, can the intended reading be *Kacchakāt paścime*, 'to the west of Kutch ?'

54. *Lāṭa* (v. 55).

The Lāṭa country seems to be placed to the west of Avanti and to the north-west of Vaidarbha (Berar). The ancient Lāṭa country was the district between the Lower Mahī and the Tāptī ; but sometimes it also extended beyond the Mahī. Bhṛgukachcha (Broach) and Navasārikā (Nausāri) belonged to this country. The *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 5, 26) commentary also locates Lāṭa to the west of Aparā-Mālava, *i.e.* Western Malwa.

55. *Varvara* (v. 56).

The great country called Varvara is described as extending from Māyāpura and as lying to the north of Sapta-śṛṅga. Varvara reminds us of Barbaricum of the *Periplus*, which lay on the sea at the mouth of the Indus and belonged to the country of Scythia (Indo-Scythia of Ptolemy), *i.e.* the Śaka country, about the beginning of the Christian era. It is tempting to identify Māyāpura with the place of that name near Hardwār ; but it is far away from the ancient Barbaricum. Sapta-śṛṅga is again a famous place to the north of Nasik. The image of the eighteen-armed goddess of this place is 12 feet high.¹ A verse of the Supplement also mentions both Māyāpura and Sapta-śṛṅga ; but it is difficult to determine their position with reference to the country of Varvara. Can Māyāpura be the Mayapur Pass in the Jhansi District, U. P. ?

56. *Saindhava* (v. 57).

The great country called Saindhava, *i.e.* Sindhu, is described

1. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 450.

as extending from Laṅkā-pradeśa as far as Makkā. Makkā may indicate here the Muslim lands of Western Asia in general. But Laṅkā is not easy to identify. It is difficult to determine whether the country called Siṃhala=Siṃhapura of the Punjab is intended by the author. Of course it is possible, in consideration of the travellers' point of view, to identify it with Ceylon. They might have reached Sind from Ceylon which was on the way to Mecca. The ancient Sindhu-deśa lay to the west of the Lower Indus and was not exactly the same as modern Sindh.

Supplement

The Five Prasthas (v. 2).

The *Prasthas* or Tantrik territorial divisions of 'India' are enumerated as five, viz. (1) Indra-prastha, (2) Yama-prastha, (3) Varuṇa-prastha, (4) Kūrma-prastha, and (5) Deva-prastha. The word *prastha* means 'a level expanse', 'level plain,' 'table-land on the top of a mountain,' 'the top of a mountain', etc. The word also indicates 'going on a journey' and hence possibly, 'pilgrimage'. This fivefold division of India may therefore have been made from a Tantric pilgrim's point of view. The association of *Aśvapati* and *Naraṇpati* with Indra-prastha and Yama-prastha respectively reminds us of the medieval imperial title *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Naraṇpati-rāja-tray-ādhipati*.¹

1. *Indra-prastha* (vv. 3-6).

Indraprastha, the name used in ancient literature to indicate a city in the suburbs of Delhi (see v. 4), appears to have been connected with Yoginīpura which is another name of Delhi. In the eastern district of our Indra-prastha lay Mathurā and Gokula, the famous pilgrim-spots of North India. Vṛndāvana, which is near Mathurā, is placed at the *kola-deśa*, i.e. side, of Indra-prastha while Hastināpura in the Meerut District lay in its north. Dvārakā is placed to the west and Gadāvarta to the south. Dvārakā is the famous *Tīrtha* in Kathiawad. Gadāvarta, quite well-known from the *Harivaṃśa* as the place where the *Gadā*

1. Cf. C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. c-ci.

or club thrown by Jarāsandha against Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā fell, is also to be placed not very far from Mathurā. This Indra-prastha is therefore bounded by Delhi and Meerut in the north, Gadāvarta in the south, Mathurā in the east, and Dvārakā in the west. Roughly speaking it included the Meerut region in the north-east and parts of Kathiawad in the south-west with its centre at the city of Indraprastha (Delhi). It is stated to have been the land of the *Āśvapati* or the lord of horses or cavalry.

2. *Yama-prastha* (vv. 7-9).

Yama-prastha seems to be placed in the south (*i.e.*, to the south of Indra-prastha) with Someśvara in the west, Sapta-śṛṅga in the east, Māyāpura in the north and Vyāṅkaṭeśa in the south. Someśvara and Vyāṅkaṭeśa are evidently the gods at the celebrated temples at Somanātha in Kathiawad and at Tirupati in the Chittur District of Andhra Pradesh. Māyāpura and Sapta-śṛṅga are no doubt the places of these names mentioned in connection with Varvara (No. 55). There is reference to another locality called Śaṅkhāvarta which is possibly also called Māyā-kṣetra. Roughly speaking, Yama-prastha or the southern *prastha* comprised parts of Kathiawad in the north-west and the district round Tirupati in the south. This was the seat of the *Narapati* or the lord of men or foot-soldiers.

3. *Varuṇa-prastha* (vv. 10-13).

Varuṇa-prastha or Vāruṇa-prastha is said to have Jagannātha (in the Puri District, Orissa) in the east, Makkeśvara (at Mecca) in the west, Hingulā (in Sind) in the north and Trailokyavijayā in the south. The seven *Sāgaras* and *Samudras* (seas and oceans?) are placed beyond or near this *prastha*. Trailokyavijayā appears to indicate some deity or pilgrim-spot in Ceylon. There is reference also to a place called Rājāvarta. Thus Varuṇa-prastha was evidently connected with the sea and comprised most of the districts on the coast of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. This was probably the seat of the *Gajapati* or the lord of elephants (cf. the Gajapatis of Orissa).

4. *Kūrma-prastha* (vv. 14-16).

Kūrma-prastha is placed to the north of Gokarṇeśa,

to the west of Kāmākhyā, to the south of Mānseśa and to the east of Śāradā. Gokarṇa in Nepāl, Kāmākhyā in Assam, the Mānasa-sarovara in the Northern Himalayas and the Śāradā-maṭha in Kāśmīra are all well known and have already been referred to.¹ This is the Himalayan *prastha* and comprised the northernmost areas of India. This Gokarṇa is not to be confused with the town of this name having a famous Śiva temple in the North Kanara District.

5. *Deva-prastha* (vv. 17-19).

Deva-prastha seems to be placed to the west of Vairajanātha (or Candranātha), and to the south (east?) of the Amarakaṇṭaka, and Kāñcīpura and Mohanāvarta are located in this *prastha* which had possibly something to do also with Kāmākhyā. Vairajanātha may be connected with the Virajā-kṣetra or Jājpur; but Candranātha, the celebrated god in the Chittagong District in Bengal, seems to be actually indicated. Kāñcīpura of the verse does not appear to mean the famous Kāñcīpuram near Madras. It is better to identify it with the Kāñcī-pīṭha on the Kopāi river near Bolpur in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. Deva-prastha therefore comprised the south-eastern and eastern regions of India. Bengal and Assam which had the greatest centres of medieval Tantricism were included in this *prastha* which is possibly called *Deva-prastha* significantly.

X
p. 16h.
Salha
27-13

1. See above, pp. 86-87 (Nos. 8-9), pp. 96-97 (Nos. 32-33).

V

GAUḌA

1. *Gauḍa as the Name of a City*

Gauḍa (usually written *Gaur* in English) was the residence of several dynasties of the Muslim rulers of Bengal for many centuries from the establishment of Muhammadan rule in the country about the close of the twelfth century A.D. The ruins of the city lie in lat. $24^{\circ} 52'$, long. $88^{\circ} 10'$ to the north or left bank of the Ganges and south of the modern town of Malda, headquarters of the District of that name in West Bengal. The traces of the ruined city with some buildings of Muhammadan times extend over an immense area now chiefly covered with jungle. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century, a European traveller gives the following account of the city of Gauḍa : "It is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is said to be three of our leagues in length and to contain 200000 inhabitants. On the one side it has the river for its defence and on the landward faces a wall of great height.....the streets are thronged with the concourse and traffic of people.....that they cannot force their way past.....a great part of the houses of this city are stately and well-wrought buildings."¹ In 1683, another European traveller who visited the old city in ruins says, "We spent 3 hours in seeing the ruins especially of the palace which has been.....in my judgment considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Seigneur's seraglio at Constantinople or any other palace that I have seen in Europe."¹

In Muslim times, the city of Gauḍa was also known by the name *Lakhnauti* no doubt a corruption of Sanskrit *Lakṣmaṇāvatī*. This name was apparently coined after that of king Lakṣmaṇasena (*circa* 1189-1206 A.D.) of the Sena dynasty, who was ousted from the western and northern districts of Bengal by the Muhammadans. The Senas thus appear to have had at least one

1. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Gour*.

of their secondary capitals at Gauḍa. The city of Rāmāvati (called Rāmautī by the Muslim writers), named after the Pāla king Rāmapāla (circa 1077-1120 A.D) and the capital or a secondary capital of the Later Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, was probably also situated in the vicinity of the present site of Gauḍa. Thus Gauḍa flourished as an important city of Eastern India for a considerable period of time before the establishment of Muslim rule, and pre-Muslim rulers of the country often built new cities named after them in the vicinity of the site of the old city.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini who flourished in North-Western India about the fifth century B.C. speaks of a city called Gauḍapura. But the rule *pure prācām* (6, 2, 99) which immediately precedes the rule *ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve ca* (6, 2, 100) suggests that both the cities, viz., Ariṣṭapura and Gauḍapura referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, were situated outside the eastern part of India¹ in a region which was more or less fully Aryanised before the composition of the grammatical work in question. There is again no reason to believe that the Aryanisation of Western Bengal (in which the Gauḍa country was situated) made any appreciable progress in the age of Pāṇini.² Thus the identification of Pāṇini's Gauḍapura with the city of Gauḍa in Bengal is highly improbable.

The name Gauḍa is supposed to be derived from the word *guda* meaning 'sugar'. The country, of which Gauḍa was the chief city, was also known by the same name possibly because it was famous in ancient times for its production of sugar. But whether the name of the city was applied to the country or that of the country to its chief city cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The fact however that, in the seventh century A.D., the capital of the Gauḍa country was called Karnasuvarṇa (modern Rāṅgāmāṭī, about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, headquarters of the District of that name to the south of the Ganges and Malda) seems to suggest that the city was named after the country. This fact also indicates that the

1. Cf. S. Sen, *Vāṅgalā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 4.

2. See my 'Spread of Aryanism in Bengal,' in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 171 ff.

city of Gauda was built in its present site to the south of Malda some time after the seventh century probably in the age of the Pālas. It is interesting to note in this connection that all the *jaya-skandhāvāras* (i.e. residences or temporary capitals) of the Pāla kings, including Rāmavati-nagara (in the vicinity of the site of Gauda) were situated on the Ganges. Urged by their preference for a city on the main course of the river, the Pāla kings may have transferred the headquarters of the Gauda country from Karnaśuvarṇa to the present site of Gauda in the Malda District. This seems to have been done after the main current of the river had begun to pass through the Padmā and the Bhāgīrathī (the original Ganges), on which Karnaśuvarṇa was situated, had begun to be gradually less important as a watercourse. There is moreover reason to believe that originally the Ganges flowed by a route through the middle of the present District of Malda so that the city of Gauda lay on its southern or right bank.¹

About the ancient course of the Ganges, a distinguished writer says, 'The tract between Malda and Murshidabad was the ancient Ganges delta where the river split up into numerous spill channels, the most important of which appear to be the Sarasvatī, the Bhāgīrathī and the Bhairab. Leaving the hills of Rajmahal, the Ganges seems to have passed northwards through the modern Kalindri, and then southwards into the lower course of the Mahānandā, east of the ruins of ancient Gaur. There was also the south-eastern branch of the Ganges (modern Padmā), the bifurcation being pretty old and shown in Ptolemy's map. In the oldest of modern maps, De Barros' (1550) and Gastaldi's (1561), Gaur is shown on the west of the Ganges. Leaving Gaur, the main waters of the Ganges turned southward and flowed through the channel of the Bhairab (as Kṛttivāsa, the reputed author who flourished in the fourteenth century, indicated) and, from at least the twelfth to the sixteenth century, through the Sarasvatī into the Bay, while the ancient eastern branch of the Ganges is traceable in the *jhils* and morasses which extend from Purnea to the sea. The Ganges thus forsook this course in favour

1. Cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 3.

of the channel through which the Bhāgīrathī now passes.”¹ The situation of the Gauḍa capital Karnaśuvarṇa on its banks seems to suggest that the present Bhāgīrathī carried the main current of the Ganges as late as the seventh century A.D.

2. *Gauḍa as the Name of a Country.*

In modern times, the name Gauḍa is often used in Bengali literature to indicate the whole area inhabited by the Bengali-speaking people. (Originally however the Gauḍa country seems to have comprised, in a narrow sense, the present District of Murshidabad together with the southernmost areas of the Malda District of Bengal. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. speaks of Karnaśuvarṇa as the name of both the capital and the kingdom of king Śaśāṅka who killed king Rājyavardhana of Thānesar about 605 A.D. The king responsible for the death of Rājyavardhana is however described in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, who flourished at the court of Rājyavardhana's younger brother and successor Harṣa, as 'the lord of Gauḍa'. There is thus no doubt that Gauḍa was the usual name of Hiuen-tsang's kingdom of Karnaśuvarṇa apparently so named by the Chinese traveller after the name of the capital of that kingdom. According to the Chinese account, the celebrated Buddhist monastery called Raktamṛttikā-vihāra stood on the suburbs of the city of Karnaśuvarṇa and the country of that name was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery in question has been located at modern Rāṅgā-māṭī (literally, 'the red earth', the same as Sanskrit *Rakta-mṛttikā*) about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, the Karnaśuvarṇa or Gauḍa country has to be located about the present Murshidabad District, although the dominions of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka is known to have actually comprised wide regions of Eastern India.

The above location of Gauḍa in a narrow sense is remarkably supported by a late Purāṇic tradition. An interpolated section in some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* locates Gauḍa-deśa,

1. Radhakamal Mookerjee, *The Changing Face of Bengal*, 1938, pp. 141-2.

inhabited by the deity Gauḍeśa or Gauḍeśi, in the land between the river Padmā and Vardhamāna. Thus the Gauḍa country is placed exactly about the Murshidabad District bounded in the north by the Padmā and in the south by the Burdwan or Vardhamāna District. The same authority regards Gauḍa as only one of the seven deśas forming Puṇḍra-deśa, viz. (1) Gauḍa, (2) Varendra (Malda-Rajshahi-Bogra region), (3) Niviti, (4) Śuḥma-deśa (i.e., Rāḍha), (5) Jhārikhaṇḍa (Santal Parganas District) called jāṅgala apparently meaning 'jungly', (6) Varābhumi (Barābhūm in the Manbhūm District), and (7) Vardhamāna (Burdwan).¹ The localities forming the Gauḍa country according to the same tradition are : (1) Navadvīpa (in the Nadia District), (2) Śāntipura (in the Nadia District), (3) Maulapattana (Mollāi in the Hooghly District), and (4) Kaṇṭakapattana (Katwa in the Burdwan District). The tradition would thus comprise in the Gauḍa country the present Murshidabad District together with parts of the Nadia, Burdwan and Hooghly Districts of West Bengal. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Puṇḍra country in this tradition comprised Western and Northern Bengal together with some eastern districts of Bihar. Niviti is said to have included Bardhankot in the Rangpur District. It is sometimes believed that the same name is found in the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. But the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa passage Puṇḍrāḥ syur = Varendrī Gauḍa-nivṛti seems to mean that the Puṇḍra country was the same as Varendrī lying in the realm (nivṛt) of Gauḍa. The name Gauḍa is here used in a wider sense. It is however not improbable that the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa tradition is based on a misunderstanding of the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa passage.

The late medieval work entitled Śaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga which is incorporated in the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra describes the Gauḍa country as lying between the country of Vaṅga and Bhuvaneśa, i.e. Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa.¹ The same work describes Vaṅga as the land extending from the sea to the Brahmaputra.² The sea is apparently the Bay of Bengal in the south of Vaṅga, while Brahmaputra placed on the northern boundary

1. See above, p. 92.

2. Cf. above, p. 84.

of Vaṅga seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. Thus the eastern half of Bengal has been called Vaṅga and its western half together with parts of Orissa has been designated Gauda in the work in question. This broad division of the Bengali-speaking area into two halves, viz. Eastern Bengal called Vaṅga and Western Bengal called Gauda, is echoed by some Muslim historians who spoke of the country as Gaur-Bangāl, i.e. Gauda-Vaṅga. Vaṅgāla (Bangāl) was originally the name of the Buckergunje region of the Vaṅga country; but later the name came to be applied to the whole of Vaṅga or East Bengal and still later to the whole of the Bengali-speaking area. At present, Gauda, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are indiscriminately used to indicate the wide area of East India where the Bengali language is spoken. The major part of the country lies in West Bengal in the Indian Union and East Bengal in Pakistan; but parts of it belong to the other neighbouring states like Bihar.

We have seen that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang describes Karnasuvarṇa or Gauda as a small tract. It is to be noticed that he distinguishes the above country from Puṇyavardhana or Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal, Samatāṭa in South-East Bengal and Tāmralipta in South-West Bengal. In Indian literature also Gauda is likewise separated from other tracts of Bengal. The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (Chs. 32-33) mentions the textile products of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra and the silver of Gauda. Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā* (XIV) mentions side by side Suhma, Samatāṭa, Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra valley), Gauḍaka (i.e. Gauda), Paṇḍra (i.e. Puṇḍravardhana), Tāmraliptika (i.e. Tāmralipta) and Vardhamāna. There is reason to believe that the northern and south-eastern parts of Bengal were Aryanised considerably earlier than the western part of the country including Gauda. The mention of Gauda in the Arthaśāstra, which in its present form has to be assigned to about the third century A.D., points to the growing importance of the country in the economic life of Eastern India. In the fourth century A. D., the Gauda region became an integral part of the Gupta empire; but, with the decline of the imperial power

of the Guptas, the Gaudas established an independent monarchy¹ in the sixth century. The importance of Gauda became established in the social and cultural life of India during the days of these independent monarchs of Gauda. We have already referred to king Śaśāṅka of Gauda, who flourished about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and ruled over extensive territories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. An earlier king of Karṇasuvarṇa was Jayanāga. Three other kings of Gauda appear to have been Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva who ruled in sixth century A.D. Under the vigorous rule of these monarchs, Gauda appears to have extended its power over the neighbouring territories. One of the above kings of Gauda fought with the Maukhari king Iśānavarman about the middle of the sixth century and another conquered and annexed Kāmarūpa to his empire about the close of that century.

The Maukhari court-poet, while referring to the struggle between the Maukharis and the Gaudas, speaks of the latter as having been compelled to be *samudr-āśraya*, i.e., a people whose shelter is the sea, owing to their defeat at the hands of the Maukhari king.¹ This shows that in the sixth century A.D. the Gaudas had already become famous as a sea-faring people. That the Gauda country about this time produced many sea-faring merchants is suggested by the discovery of an inscription² of *Mahānāvika* (i.e. Captain) Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā (near the Gauda capital) in the Wellesley District of the Malay Peninsula. The Dubi inscription of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa seems to refer to the Gauda army as specially strong in naval warfare.³

It may be mentioned in this connection that, besides Gauda in Bengal, some other tracts in different parts of India were also known by this name. One such Gauda was the modern Gonda District of Uttar Pradesh, in which the celebrated city of Śrāvastī was situated.⁴ It is, however, possible to think that

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 7, text line 3; *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 69, note 4.

2. Chatterjee and Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 7.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 293 ff.

4. Cf. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I, 20, 19. For a controversy on this point, see *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, D. 579, note.

Gauḍa as the name of Goṇḍā was a later modification of the older name of the area in imitation of the famous land of East India. The name of the Goṇḍ people of Central India was often Sanskritized as Gauḍa and the land inhabited by the Goṇḍ came also to be known by this name. Kannāḍa Gauḍa or Gavuḍa meaning 'a village headman' has nothing to do with Bengal. The same is the case with Oriyā Gauḍa meaning 'a milkman' and written as Gokūṭa in some inscriptions. MP

3. Gauḍa as the Collective Name of the Eastern Countries of India

About a century after the establishment of the powerful kingdom of Gauḍa, its name began to be used in a general sense to indicate the countries of Eastern India. In Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (seventh century) one of the two principal styles of Sanskrit composition is described as Gauḍa or *prācya*, i.e. eastern.

Daṇḍin draws a distinction between the Gauḍa or eastern and the Vaidarbha or southern styles. Among the characteristics of the former is the love of long compounds not only in prose, in which they were also used by the southerners, but also in poetry. The easterners also favoured alliteration and harsh sound effects, recondite etymologizing phraseology and strength often resulting in bombast and affectation. *Jacobi* believed that Sanskrit poetry in the east had developed the evil effects of old age before the art became current in the western and southern parts of India. But it should be noticed that in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is a few centuries earlier than the *Kāvyādarśa*, the qualities which Daṇḍin ascribes to the Vaidarbha style is assigned to the Kāvya style in general. Keith is no doubt right when he says, "This is a strong suggestion that at the time of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* there had not developed the characteristics of the Gauḍa style and that they emerged gradually with the development of poetry at the courts of princes of Bengal."¹ These 'princes of Bengal' appear to have been no other than the kings of Gauḍa who flourished in the sixth century and the earlier part of the seventh, to whom reference has been made above. But the fact that the Gauḍa

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 60.

style came to be ascribed to the whole of Eastern India may suggest that poets at other East Indian courts were imitating those at the Gauda court. This led ultimately to the application of the name Gauda to East India generally.

Like the literary style of Eastern India named after Gauda, the East Indian alphabet was named after the same country. Buhler says, "Towards the end of the 11th century, the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India shew such distinct traces of changes leading up to the modern Bengali writing and these changes become so numerous in the 12th century that it is possible to class their alphabets as Proto-Bengali. Only a few among the Proto-Bengali letters are new local formations. The great majority occur already in other older scripts, be it in exactly the same or in similar shape."¹ Bendall and Buhler also noticed the influence of this script on the alphabet used in the Nepalese manuscripts of the period between the 12th and 15th centuries.² Now, in coining the name Proto-Bengali for the script in question, Buhler seems to have ignored several factors. In the first place, 'the eastern variety of the Nāgarī alphabet' found in 'the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India', out of which Proto-Bengali developed in the twelfth century, should better have been distinguished from the 'Nāgarī' found in the inscriptions discovered in other parts of India by applying a more specific name to it. Secondly, when, even earlier than the eleventh century A.D.,³ the same script was used in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa and when even now Bengal and Assam use practically the same alphabet while the Maithili and Oriya alphabets are nearly the same, the name Proto-Bengali can hardly be regarded as quite appropriate, in spite of the fact that, along with its literature, Bengal's alphabet has come to occupy a more important position. Thirdly, as early as the first half of the eleventh century, the same East Indian script was named after Gauda. Al-Birūnī,

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, App., p. 58.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

3. Ojha (*Prācīnalipīmālā*, p. 77) has traced letters like *e* and *kh* of the Bengali type in the inscriptions of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908 A. D.), that is to say, in records belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries. Buhler himself does not deny such facts.

who wrote his work on India about 1030 A.D., speaks of the following alphabets : (1) Siddhamātrkā used in the Kashmir, Banāras and Kanauj regions, (2) Nāgara used in Mālava (3-5) Ardhanāgarī, Malwārī and Saindhava, used in Sindh, (6-9) Karnāṭa, Āndhrī, Drāviḍī and Lārī used respectively in the Kannaḍa, Andhra, Drāviḍa and Lāṭa countries, (10) Gauḍī used in Pūrva-deśa, *i.e.* the eastern country, and (11) Bhaikṣukī which was the writing of the Buddha (*i.e.* the Buddhists) used in Udupur (possibly Uddaṇḍapura, *i.e.* modern Biharsharif in the Patna District) in Pūrva-deśa.¹ This shows that the East Indian script, called Proto-Bengali by Bühler, was named after Gauḍa at least by the beginning of the eleventh century. Many of the names found in the list of sixty-four alphabets in the *Lalitavistara* (translated into Chinese in 308 A.D.) are apparently imaginary and doubtful ; but the separate mention of the Āṅga-lipi, Vanṅa-lipi, Magadha-lipi, Drāviḍa-lipi, Kanārī-lipi, Dakṣina-lipi, Apara-Gauḍ-ādi-lipi, etc.,² seems to suggest that the tendency towards the growth of special characteristics in the alphabets of Southern and Eastern India was noticed even in an earlier age.

What has been said above would show that the name Gauḍa was specially applied to the literary style and script of Eastern India and that Gauḍa in these cases indicates the East Indian countries generally. In this connection, attention may be invited to the language of the caryā songs assigned by linguists to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. They no doubt offer the earliest stage of the East Indian dialect just emerged from the Apabhraṃśa stage. But there is a great controversy among scholars as regards the closeness of the language of the caryās with the different dialects now spoken in Eastern India such as Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili and Eastern Hindi. Linguisticians whose mother-tongue is any of the above languages have tried to prove the special affinity of the caryā dialect with their mother-tongue. Thus H. P. Sastri, S. K. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, S. K. Sen and other Bengali scholars

1. Sachau, *Al'heruni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173.

2. G. H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 17, note 3.

believe that the *caryās* are written in old Bengali. K. L. Barua and other Assamese writers regard the language of the *caryās* as old Assamese which they call *Kāmarūpi*. J. K. Misra and others from Mithila take the *caryā* language to be old Maithili. There are also similar claims on behalf of Oriya and Eastern Hindi.¹ We are however inclined to believe that the characteristics of the *caryā* language may be easily traced in all the languages now spoken in Eastern India because it was the language of Eastern India generally. The authors of the songs may be attributed to particular areas and their compositions may exhibit in some cases certain regional peculiarities; but it will hardly be correct for the matter of that to regard the language of the songs to be any one of those that later developed in the areas in question especially in view of the fact that the *modern languages of Eastern India* have a good deal in common amongst them. It is very probable that, in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., the difference among these languages was not as remarkable as in modern times and that the literary language of the *caryās* was easily understood in different parts of Eastern India. The proper name for the *caryā* language should therefore be Gaudī or East Indian and not old Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Oriya or Eastern Hindi. We may then have a Gauda language besides a Gauda style of Sanskrit composition and a Gauda alphabet. East Indian linguists of particular areas may successfully trace affinities of their mother-tongue with the *caryā* language; but they should better not regard it as the origin exclusively of their mother-tongue.²

4. *Gauda as the Name of Āryāvarta or Northern India.*

The South Indian Brāhmaṇas are usually divided into five sections, viz., Drāviḍa (Tamil), Kārṇāṭa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra and Tailaṅga. These are collectively called the Pañca-Drāviḍa.³

1. See S. K. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.; K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, pp. 318 ff.; J. K. Misra, *History of Maithila Literature*, p. x; etc.

2. The Gaudī dialect (*vibhāṣā*) is recognised in Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (12th century). See my *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 118.

3. See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. *Drāviḍa*. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v., quotes a faulty stanza from the *Skanda Purāṇa* in support of the list of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas:

कर्णाटश्च तैलंगा (द्राविडा) गुर्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः ।
आंध्राश्च द्रविडाः पञ्च विध्यदक्षिणवासिनः ॥

An inscription of 1425 A.D. speaks of four out of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas as Kannāḍiga, Tamiḷa, Teluṅga and Iāḷa (*i.e.* Lāṭa = Gurjara).¹ Now these social groups of the Brāhmaṇas were developed out of the principal linguistic subdivisions of the people of South India. On the analogy of the above divisions, the North Indian Brāhmaṇas were also divided into five groups under the general name of Gauḍa. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *Gauḍa*, quotes the following verse from the *Skanda Purāṇa* :

सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा गौडमैथिलिकोत्कलाः ।

पंचगौडा इति ख्याता विन्ध्यस्योत्तरवासिनः ॥

The five classes of the Gauḍa or North Indian Brāhmaṇas were thus the Sārasvata (associated with the Sarasvati valley in the Eastern Punjab), Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala.² Although this seems to be a rather arbitrary classification, there is no doubt that the name Gauḍa has been applied in this case to North India generally. That the said classification is not very late is suggested by the mention of the Pañca-Gauḍīya community is an inscription of 926 A. D.³

The application of the name Gauḍa in the general sense of Āryāvarta or North India can also be traced elsewhere in literature. There is a tradition regarding king Bhoja (circa 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa recorded in the following verse :

पंचाशत्पंचवर्षाणि सप्तमासदिनत्रयम् ।

भोजराजेन भोक्तव्यः सगौडो दक्षिणापथः ॥⁴

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 82-84.

2. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* gives an account of the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas under the entries *Brāhmaṇ* and *Gauḍ*. Under *Gaur-Brāhmaṇ*, Wilson says, "The Brāhmaṇ of the Gaur tribe or caste ; one of the five Gaurs, but located in the upper provinces throughout the Subah of Delhi to the hills. There are many sub-divisions of these Gaur-Brāhmaṇs of Hindustān, who are apparently unknown in Bengal, as the Ādh-Gaur, Kaithal-Gaur, Gūjar-Gaur, Sidh-Gaur, etc., amounting in all to forty-two." He also speaks of the Gaur Kāyath said to be settled from Bengal in the upper provinces by Nāṣir-ud-dīn (son of Balban) in the thirteenth century, Gaur-Rājput numerous in the North-Western Province (U. P.), Gaur-Tagā a tribe of Brāhmaṇical descent in the north-west of India, and Gaur-Thākur a tribe of Rājputs settled in the Farrukhabad District. The Gaur-Tagās claim that they were originally invited from Bengal by Rājā Janamejaya, the Kaurava king of Hastināpura, for the purpose of exterminating the Takṣakas or snakes.

3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 48. See also the *Rajataranginī* (circa 1150 A.D.), IV, 468.

4. *Bhojaprabandha*, Calcutta ed., p. 3; cf. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 858.

According to this tradition, Bhoja ruled over both Gauḍa and Dakṣiṇāpatha for a little over 55 years. The real implication of the verse has so long been misunderstood by scholars. There is no doubt that it speaks of Bhoja's lordship over Gauḍa in the sense of North India and over Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India; that is to say, Bhoja claimed to have ruled over the whole of India including both Northern and Southern India. This was merely the conventional way of saying that Bhoja was a *cakravartin*, i.e. an imperial ruler. The Indian *cakravartins* were conventionally represented as the ruler of the 'whole earth' which only meant the *cakravarti-kṣetra* bounded by the Himalayas and the sea. Sometimes Āryāvarta or North India was conceived as an independent *cakravarti-kṣetra* for North Indian rulers and South India bounded by the three seas (the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) for the rulers of the Deccan.¹ In the verse quoted above, Bhoja is represented as the lord of both the *cakravarti-kṣetras* of the north and the south of India. Like similar claims of other monarchs, the claim on Bhoja's behalf does not mean that the Paramāra king actually ruled over any part of South India or over Gauḍa in Bengal in the narrow sense of the term. Here Bhoja merely claims to have been a *cakravartin* which means nothing more than an imperial ruler of any part of India.

1. For the conventional *cakravarti-kṣetras*, see *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 497 ff. See also above, pp. 15-16.

VI

BENGAL

European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries place a certain City of Bengala near the Meghnā estuary, *i.e.* the joint mouth of the Padmā and the Meghnā. This estuary extends over the wide area between the Districts of Buckergunge and Chittagong in East Pakistan. As Bengala (like the modern name *Bengal*) is a foreign corruption of *Vaṅgāla*, a celebrated historian has suggested¹ that this late medieval City of Bengala (which he locates near modern Chittagong) was the capital of the ancient *Vaṅgāla-deśa* and 'gave its name to the kingdom, or *vice versa*, and, in either case, the old kingdom of *Vaṅgāla* must be located in the region round the city'.² He also suggests that the celebrated Pāla and Candra dynasties of Bengal originally ruled in the Chittagong region.³

The above theories appear to be unwarranted. The City of Bengala, mentioned by foreign travellers in the late medieval period,⁴ seems to have nothing to do with the early medieval kingdom of *Vaṅgāla*, which originally denoted a smaller area, but whose geographical sense gradually expanded so as to include ultimately the whole of the land of the Bengali-speaking people.

1. See R. C. Majumdar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 227-35.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 229; cf. p. 232, : ".....this original kingdom must be in this region [of Chittagong and Dianga]".

3. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

4. On the strength of Ibn Batūta's reference to 'Sudkawan (Sātgaon) and Bengala' and to 'Lakhnauti and Bengala', it has been suggested that in these two early cases Bengala refers to the city and not to the country. There can be no doubt however that the names refer to provinces. According to Muslim authors both Rāl (Rāḍha) and Barind (Varendra) formed parts of Lakhnauti (Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 191). Similarly Bengala no doubt means the province of South-Eastern Bengal, sometimes also called Sonārgaon after its chief city. Orissa was usually called Jājnagar by Muslim authors. Such reference to Bihār, Lakhnauti, Bang and Jājnagar (*I. H. Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 235) would, if we follow the said line of argument, suggest the existence also of a city called Bang. But this was never the case. Some later Muslim writers refer to East Bengal as *Bang* and to the whole of Bengal as *Bangāl*.

In this connection, we have to trace the gradual expansion of the geographical connotation of the name Vaṅgāla. This name is often found in records and works of the period later than the 10th century A. D. Reference to Vaṅgāla is found in the Tirumalai inscription (1024 A. D.) of Rājendra Cola,¹ which speaks of king Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāla-deśa. The Ablur inscription of Kalacurya Vijjala² (1157-67 A.D.) mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla separately. This differentiation seems to be supported by a work called *Ḍākārṇava* which makes separate mention of Vaṅgāla and Harikela (=Vaṅga, according to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of the 12th century lexicographer Hemacandra),³ and by the *Hamīramahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri (15th century), which mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla side by side.⁴ In the 16th century, however, Abul Fazl says, "The original name of Bangāl (=Vaṅgāla) was Bang (=Vaṅga). Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth, throughout the province, which were called *āl*. From this suffix the name (*i.e.* Bangāl) took its rise and currency."⁵ This identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla has to be reconciled with the evidence referring to them as two different countries.

The *Raghuvaṃśa* reference to the defeat of the Vaṅga people in the land watered by the lower streams of the Ganges⁶ and

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 229 ff. The earliest reference to Vaṅgāla has been recently traced in the Nesari plates (805 A.D.) of Rāstrakūṭa Govinda III, which speak of Dharma (*i.e.*, Dharmapāla) as the king of Vaṅgāla (*J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XXII, 1956, pp. 133-34). This shows that the name Vaṅgāla was not unknown in earlier times and that the Pālas originally ruled in the tract called by that name. It is interesting to note that Dharmapāla is apparently called 'lord of Vaṅga' in the Sāgar Tāl inscription of Bhoja and 'king of Gauḍa' in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa. With the expansion of their territories, the Pālas preferred to style themselves as 'lords of Gauḍa'. This seems to be the reason why Vaṅgāla did not become popular in the sense of the Pāla empire.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 57.

3. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

4. *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

5. Jarrett, *Ani-i-Akbari*, trans., II, p. 120.

6. बंगानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् ।

निचखान जयस्तंभानांगास्रोतोन्तरेषु सः ॥ (*Raghuvaṃśa* IV, 36)

Mallinātha explains *Gaṅgā-srota-natreṣu* as *Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasāṃ pravāhānām = antareṣu duḥpeṣu*; cf. *git-āntareṣu*, 'in the intervals of singing', *vāṣpa-salil-āntareṣu*, 'in the interval of weeping'; *na mṛpāla-sūtram racitaṃ stan-āntare*, '.....in the space between the breasts', etc. See below, pp. 139-40; Ch. XI (p. 172 ff.)

epigraphic references to Vaṅga comprising the Vikrampur region of Dacca and Faridpur¹ and to the *Nāṣya* region of Vaṅga very probably in the Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts,² leave hardly any doubt that Vaṅga certainly included at least parts of the present Dacca, Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts. In the lower part of this region very high roads or earthen-embankments are constructed even today in order to prevent the tide of floods and to facilitate communications during the rainy season. It may therefore be suggested that the southern part of old Vaṅga thus at first came to be known as Vaṅgāla. It is interesting to note that this view is supported by other evidences.

As said above, the Tirumalai inscription refers to Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāla-deśa. The inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal, to which Govindacandra belonged, however say that Trailokyacandra, the first king of the family, became lord of Candra-dvīpa and flourished as the mainstay of the fortune (*i.e.* as a feudatory) of the king of Harikela (=Vaṅga according to Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*).³ Thus the Candra kingdom is called Candra-dvīpa according to one evidence and Vaṅgāla-deśa according to another. Candra-dvīpa and Vaṅgāla-deśa thus appear to be more or less identical. As Candra-dvīpa is no other than the celebrated Bāklā-Candra-dvīp (*i.e.* parts of the Buckergunge District and the adjoining region), the Buckergunge area was apparently included in Vaṅgāla-deśa.

1. Cf. *Vaṅge Vikramapura-bhāge*, etc. (*Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 125).

2. Cf. *Vaṅge Nāṣye Rāmasiddhi-pāṭake*, etc., *Nāṣye Vinayatilaka-grāme pūrve samudrah simā*, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 146). *Nāṣya* means a region accessible by boats. That this region was then not far from the sea (*samudra*), *i.e.* the estuary, is also clear. The word means apparently the same thing as Bengali *bhāṭi*, 'with the tide, the region towards the sea' (from *bhātā*, floods of the tide running towards the sea). Cf. also East Bengali *bhar*, low region. In the Muslim period, the district called *Bhāṭi* sometimes indicated the coastal strip between the estuaries of the Hooghly and the Meghna. The late work called *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* places Vaṅga-deśa between the *ratnākara* (sea) and the Brahmaputra (above, p. 84).

3. *Ind. Cult.*, VII, p. 411. According to Keśava's *Kalpadrukoṣa*, Harikela or Harikeli was the name of the Sylhet (Śrihaṭṭa) region. Cf.

श्रीहट्टो हरिकेलिः स्याच्छ्रीहट्टोपि क्वचिद् भवेत् ।

This name came to be applied to Vaṅga apparently due to the temporary annexation of Vaṅga to the Harikela kingdom. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 338-39.

The suggestion is further supported by the identification of Vaṅgālavaḍā-bhū in the Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka of the *Nāvya* region of Vaṅga, mentioned in the Sāhitya Pariṣad plate¹ of Viśvarūpa-sena, with modern Bāṅgroṛā in the region of Rāmsiddhi in the Gournadī region of the Buckergunge District. Vaṅgāla thus appears to have been popularly mentioned as a separate political unit, after the Candras had established a kingdom in Vaṅgāla, *i.e.* the southern part of Vaṅga. Śrīcandra, son of Trailokyacandra, conquered the Dacca and Faridpur Districts, as the find-spots of his records would show. Laḍahacandra, grandson of Śrīcandra, apparently ruled also over the Tipperah District. Thus Vaṅga proper was now included in the new kingdom of Vaṅgāla. As a result of this, the name Vaṅgāla could be optionally used in an expanded sense to indicate a large area in East Bengal that formed part of the kingdom of Śrīcandra and his successors. By this time, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla apparently signified more or less the same territory.

Early Muslim authors refer to the Muhammadan kingdom of Bengal first as Lakhnautī or Gaur, as their first settlement did not include East Bengal. The kingdom of East Bengal was sometimes referred to as Bang, Bangāl or Sonārgāon ; and sometimes the whole of Bengal was mentioned as Gaur-Bangāl.² Sātgaon was often recognised as a separate political unit. But, as early as the reign of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A.D.), some Muslim authors are known to speak of Bangāl in a wide sense so as to include Lakhnautī, Sonārgāon and Sātgaon.³ In the 16th century, the name Bangāl loosely indicated a wider area. It may or may not have geographically included the Chittagong region which was included in the Mughal Subah of Bangāl only during the reign of Aurangzīb in the 17th century. There is no proof at all

1. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 840 ff.

2. The *Saktisaṅgama Tantra* divides Bengal into two halves, viz. Vaṅga and Gauḍa (lying between Vaṅga-deśa and Bhuvaneśa or Bhubaneswar). See above, pp. 84, 98.

3. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 191 ; Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri*, p. 590n. Muslim authors popularised the use of *Bangāl* in preference to other names to denote the whole of Bengal. A Nepal inscription of 1346 A.D. refers to the army of Sultān Shamsuddīn Ilyas as *Vaṅgāla-bahula bala* (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 81 ; *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 227).

that the Chittagong area formed part of the old kingdom of the Candras and the Pālas. It must be noted that not a single inscription of those dynasties has so far been discovered in the Chittagong District.¹

We now come to the City of Bengala mentioned by the European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. Duarte de Barbosa, Barthema (1510 A. D.), Ovington (1639 A.D.) and several other writers refer to the city. Some authorities identify the city with modern Chittagong or locate it near about that place. It is shown in a map drawn by Gastaldi in 1651 and in another in the *Travels of Cornelius le Bruyn* (published in 1701). In these maps and works as well as in those of Blaeu, Sausson, Purchas and others, the City of Bengala is indicated in the Chittagong region.² But Barbosa, one of the earliest Portuguese writers on Indian geography,

1. The Arab merchant Sulaiman (851 A. D.) refers to the powerful kingdom of Rahma which has been identified with the kingdom of the Pālas and the identification of Rahma, Rahmi and Ruhmi of the Arabs with Rāmu, a few miles east of Cox's Bazar, has been upheld (*I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-34). Apart from the fact that there is absolutely no proof of Pāla occupation of Ramu, it seems unconvincing that the Bihar-Bengal empire of the Pālas (even if it included Rāmu), with the emperors often residing at *jayaskandhātāras* in Bihar, would be named after Rāmu which probably formed a part of Arakan. That the said theory is unjustifiable is proved by Ibn al Fakih (902 A. D.) who says, "In India lies a realm called Rahma bordering on the sea. Its ruler is a woman. It is ravaged by the plague and any man who comes from elsewhere in India and enters the country (Rahma) dies there. Yet many come by reason of great profits to be made." (Harvey, *Hist. Burma*, p. 10). In 902 A.D., the Pāla empire is definitely known to have been under Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A. D.) and not under a woman. Rahma may be the kingdom of Thaton called Ramañña-desā (Lower Burma). Marco Polo who placed Bangala 'tolerably close to India' and under the rule of the king of Mien (Burma), and Fakir Muḥammad who placed Bangāl to the east of Bhāṭi apparently made some confusion. The Bengali ballad called *Māṇikcandra-rājār Gān*, which says *Bhāṭi haite āila Vāṅgāl lambā lambā dāri*, 'the Vāṅgāls (people of Vāṅgāla proper) with their long beards came from Bhāṭi (the southern country)', proves that the people of East Bengal, who were responsible for the original composition of the ballad, knew Vāṅgāla to be identical with Bhāṭi (see C. C. Banerji, *Candimaṅgala-bodhini*, II, p. 765). Mukundarāma (16th century) in his *Candimaṅgala* (C.U. ed., p. 655) speaks of the Vāṅgāls as good sailors. As the Chittagong people are reputed sailors, it may be suggested that Mukundarāma identifies the land of the Vāṅgāls with Chittagong. But Mukundarāma was a man of West Bengal and to the people of his part of the country, the inhabitants of any District of East Bengal are Vāṅgāls even today. Moreover, the passages in question are certainly interpolated in the *Candimaṅgala*. The *Māṇikcandra-rājār Gān*, an East Bengal production, is therefore more important in this connection. There in we see that the people of Bhāṭi were known even to the people of East Bengal as Vāṅgāls, i.e. inhabitants of Vāṅgāla.

Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 189; *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 229n.

says that the Bay of Bengal is 'a gulf which enters towards the north and at its inner extremity there is a great city inhabited by Moors (Muhammadans), which is called Bengala, with a very good harbour.'¹ The expression 'at the inner extremity' may point to a locality far to the north of Chittagong, and Moreland suggests that the Portuguese meant Sonārgāon by the City of Bengala.² But the city apparently belonged to what the Portuguese called the Porto Grande=Portus Magnus=Great Port, and we have to determine the location of the latter.

Portuguese writers, when they speak of a voyage to Bengal, usually refer to the Great Port as well as the Porto Pequeno=Portus Parvus=Little Port. Portuguese *porto* is usually understood in the sense of English *port*, and the Little Port is identified with Hooghly or Sāt-gāon while the Great port is located near Chittagong. Moreland has however shown that 'the word *porto* in the mouth of the sea-faring Portuguese at the period referred primarily to a gap in the coast line and not, as landsmen are apt to assume, a town on the sea-shore; in other words, *porto* might signify a gulf or estuary which might contain several sea ports.'³ He has pointed out that sometimes the Little Port indicated the Hooghly estuary, and the Great Port meant the Meghnā estuary and included both Chittagong and Śrīpur (in the Dacca District). The location of the Great Port therefore does not help us materially in locating the City of Bengala.

1. *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.

2. *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 309.

3. *Ibid.*, 307-08. Father F. Fernandus, the Jesuit missionary who was sent to Bengal in 1598, speaks of the danger when his ship ran aground in the Portus Parvus; but it was afloat and, after sailing for eight days within the Portus, it reached the Portuguese station of Hooghly. By *Portus Parvus* therefore Fernandus meant the Hooghly river and not any port. He next went to the Portus Magnus and first reached Śrīpur which he describes as a station in the Portus Magnus. Śrīpur was an important port on the Padmā about 18 miles from Sonārgāon, the eastern capital of Bengal. The Father then arrived at Chittagong which was also a station belonging to the Portus Magnus. According to Fernandus therefore the Great Port extended from the Karnaphuli river to the immediate neighbourhood of Dacca. By the word *porto* some writers however actually meant a port; Fitch, *e. g.*, identifies Porto Pequeno with Sāt-gāon. According to Moreland, the change in the meaning may be attributed to the fact that 'the Portuguese did not to any great extent trade directly with Śrīpur; their communications were with either Hooghly or Chittagong, that is, with only one *Station* in each *Porto*, and, in these circumstances, the transfer of the name from the *Porto* to the *Station* might easily take place, just as the *Mersey* has become a synonym for *Liverpool*' (*op. cit.*, p. 309).

The chief points of interest in this problem are two. Firstly, there is not a single reference to this City of Bengala, so famous to the Portuguese, in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature, not even in the Bengali history of the Tripurā royal family which often mentions Chittagong. The Bengalis therefore did not know any place of that name, or knew it by a different name, *i.e.* a name of their own. Secondly, while some European writers like Rennell could not trace the city or its site, others denied the very existence of the city called Bengala. In 1689, Ovington. remarked, "A late French geographer (Baudrand) has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary cities, and such as have no real existence in the world."¹ It therefore seems quite clear that even Europeans other than the Portuguese sometimes considered the name of the City of Bengala as a misnomer and had no memory of it after the collapse of the Portuguese power in Bengal. The City of Bengala thus appears to be a name given by the Portuguese to a city which was usually known to others by its Bengali name. As however there is absolutely no proof (in the Bengali literature and Bengal records of any period) of the existence of any city called Vaṅgāla in the south-eastern part of Bengal, the Portuguese name *City of Bengala* seems to have originally indicated the city *par excellence* (*i.e.* the chief city) of the country of Vaṅgāla, *i.e.* East Bengal. Names like Andhrapura, Magadhapura or Māgadhapura, etc., are known to have been alternative names of the chief cities derived from the names of countries, and we have seen that the south-eastern, north-western and south-western provinces of Bengal were also known to the Muslim writers as Sonārgāon (Vaṅgāla), Lakhnautī (Gauḍa) and Sāt-gāon (Rāḍha) respectively after the chief cities of those provinces. As the chief city of East Bengal lay not far from the Meghnā estuary,² it might have been called the City of Bengala by the Portuguese. But apparently

1. *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XIII, p. 262 ; *I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 230n.

2. Sonārgāon was the capital of East Bengal during early Muslim days. Dacca was made the capital of the Bengal Subah early in the 17th century. The remark of Purchas that 'Gauro (Gaur or Lakhnautī), the seat royal, and Bengala are fair cities' (*I.H.Q.*, *op. cit.*, p. 230) apparently refers to the fact that Bengala was the chief city of East Bengal and was looked upon as a secondary capital of Bengal.

that name was used by foreigners (chiefly Portuguese), and the Bengalis continued to use the local or Bengali name. That is why the name could not be traced after the Portuguese collapse in Bengal.¹

It must however be admitted that some authorities locate the City of Bengala near about Chittagong.² It seems that originally the chief city of East Bengal was known to the Portuguese as the City of Bengala ; but after the Portuguese port in the Chittagong region had become the most flourishing centre of trade in Bengal, they began to call it the City of Bengala. This again seems to have been done when Sonārgāon passed out of the picture due to the transference of the provincial capital first to Rājmaḥal and then to Dacca. The fact that Portuguese sailors came by sea and first reached this flourishing port after days of hardship in the sea may also have emphasized its importance to them as the city *par excellence* of the country of Bengal.

Whatever however the location of the City of Bengala may be, there is no doubt that it had nothing to do with the old country of Vaṅgāla known to have been the kingdom of the Candra kings of East Bengal.³

There has been some discussion on the derivation of the

1. Quite different is the case with Meghnā (pronounced *Māgnā* in East Bengal, with the first vowel sounding like, *a* in *man*) apparently derived from the Latin word meaning 'great', which has supplanted the older name of the river.

2. It has been pointed out that Ortelius places Bengala in the same place where Hommanus places Chatigam or Chittagong. Yule refers to a chart of 1743 and concludes that Chittagong is probably identical with the City of Bengala. Campos also identifies Chittagong and Bengala. Ovington places Bengala to the south of Chittagong. In Blacv's map and Sausson's chart the city is located on the southern bank of the Karnaphuli near about the place where Broucke places Dianga. This location is supported by Vignorla's map of 1683. But in an old map in Thevenot, the city is placed above Xatigan or Chittagong. Hostin and Majumdar think that Dianga, opposite Chittagong, represents the site of Bengala. It is also suggested that originally both Dianga and Chittagong were included in the city. Hosten identifies Dianga with a place now called Bandar on the left bank and near the mouth of the Karnaphuli river. He also takes Dianga to have been the Porto Grande. Blochman identifies Dianga with Dakṣiṇ-dāṅgā or Brāhmaṇ-dāṅgā and notes). Blochman may be right, as the foreign name seems to correspond to the Bengali word *dāṅgā* which is pronounced in East Bengal as *dāṅgā*, with the first vowel sounding like the English *a* in *man*.

3. See also S. H. Hodivala in *Num. Supl.*, No. XXXIV (*J.A.S.B.*), pp. 199-121. Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 407-08.

name *Bengal*.¹ But the conclusions are not satisfactory. Since the emergence of modern Hindī from its Apabhramśa stage, the speakers of Hindī and other languages have been calling the Bengali-speaking area by the name *Vanṅāl* (without the final *a* in the last consonant), which has been transliterated by the English in their script as *Bengal*. The Muslims first came to India when the final *a* in the last consonant of Sanskrit words in North Indian dialects was pronounced. The earlier pronunciation of *Vanṅāl*, as is well known, was *Vanṅāla* which was naturally transliterated by the Muslims in their script as *Baṅgālah* (pronouncing *Baṅgāla*). This Muslim pronunciation of the name is directly responsible for the name *Bāṅgālā* now applied by the Bengalis to their country. The first *ā* in the name is comparable to the first *ā* in Bengali words like *hājār* (thousand) derived from Persian *hazār*. The change of *a* into *ā* is due to the fact that *a* pronounced outside East India resembles *ā* as pronounced by the Bengalis. The last *ā* in the name is again comparable to Bengali words like *khānā* derived from *khānah*.² The people of Bengal is known elsewhere in India as *Vanṅālī* which the English transliterated as *Bengali* or *Bengalee* and which the Bengalis have made *Bāṅgālī* in their language. This word is also influenced by such Muslim words as *Kābulī*.³ It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to a general ethnological principle, the specific name of a tribe often

1. See N. N. Das Gupta in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 277-85.

2. Cf. also *bandah* (slave) = Bengali *bāndā*, *khājānah* (revenue) = Bengali *khājānā*, etc. Just as the word originally spelt and pronounced in Bengali as *khājānā* has now been modified to *khājnā* (with the elision of the central *ā*), the earlier Bengali spelling and pronunciation of the name *Bāṅgālā* have now given way to the modified form *Bāṅglā* (sometimes softened into *Bānlā*). That, during Muslim rule, the Bengalis adopted the Muslim pronunciation of the name of their country is probably indicated by the fact that today Bengalis of any education speak, in their common speech, usually of the English *India*, *Bengal* and *Calcutta* in preference respectively to the names *Bhāratavarṣa*, *Bāṅgālā* (or *Bāṅglā* or *Bānlā*) and *Kalikātā*. Cf. also the popularity of the Anglicised surnames Banerji, Mukherji, etc. The introduction of a large number of Persian and Arabic words in the vocabulary during Muslim rule has further to be compared with the later adoption of numerous English words during the British period.

3. Cf. the *yā-yi nisbatī* in Persian and the corresponding Arabic suffix to from relatives (D. C. Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar*, pp. 400 and 714-17).

originates among neighbouring tribes and is eventually adopted by the tribe to which it is applied.

To sum up the discussion, the Candra kings of South-East Bengal are sometimes represented as lords of Candra-dvīpa (Bāklā-Candravīp in the Buckergunge region) and sometimes as lords of Vaṅgāla-deśa. This fact points to the location of Vaṅgāla in its original geographical sense in the coastal region of Southern Bengal. The connotation of the name began to expand with the expansion of the Candra kingdom of Vaṅgāla over wide areas of South-East Bengal. The name was popularised in the sense first of East Bengal, and then in that of the whole of Bengal, by the Muslims. The location of Vaṅgāla proper in the Buckergunge region near the Bay of Bengal, that is to say, in the southern part of the ancient Vaṅga country, seems to be supported by Abul Fazl's identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla and his derivation of the latter name from *Vaṅga + āl* (Sanskrit *ālī*) on the grounds that 'its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province, which were called *āl*.' Although the derivation may be wrong and *Vaṅgāla* may have sprung from *Vaṅga +* the Prakrit suffix *āla* in the sense of a notable district belonging to Vaṅga,¹ we have seen that the interesting mention of the earthen mounds, primarily meant for keeping off the encroachment of sea-water from the corn-fields, refers to a condition prevailing in the Buckergunge region of the coastal area of Bengal even to-day. The name *Vaṅgāla* is very rarely found in records earlier than the rise of the Candras in the tenth century A.D. The mention of the name in the Goharwa inscription of Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) in the description of the exploits of his predecessor Lakṣmaṇarāja proves its importance in the eleventh century. Of course Lakṣmaṇarāja, who is represented in the Goharwa inscription as having defeated the Vaṅgāla country or people, ruled about the middle of the tenth century when the Candra power had already been established in Vaṅgāla.²

1. Cf. my *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 33.

2. As has already been indicated above, the Nesari plates of 805 A. D. suggest that the name *Vaṅgāla* (apparently indicating the original territory

As we have seen, the most important point in regard to the supposed existence of a 'city of Bengala' is that no such name of a great city is found in any of the numerous works of medieval Bengali literature. This question, usually ignored, has to be answered. Our answer to this question fully tallies with that of Hodivala who reached the same conclusion after thoroughly ransacking the available Muslim sources. In an attempt to locate the Mughal mint-town of Bangāla in Akbar's empire, he says, 'Briefly, there would appear to be *fairly good* grounds for thinking that *Bangāla* was not the real or fixed name of any town or city, but an alternative or honorific designation by which the *capital of the province at the time being* was known. Thus the *Bangāla* of Mun'im Khān's time *might have been* Gaur, and it is *not impossible* that during the subsequent twenty years the name was sometimes applied to Tānda. The *Bangāla* of the coins of the 39th and following years of Akbar's reign would, by parity of reasoning, be Akbarnagar."¹

of the Pālas in the Buckergunge region) was known even in earlier times, though it does not appear to have been popular in the sense of the eastern part or the whole of Bengal before the rise of the Candras.

1. See Hodivala, *op. cit.*, p. 211. It will be seen that the mint-town of Bangāla, whence Akbar's coins were issued, could not have been situated in the Chittagong region (where the 'city of Bengala' is usually located), as that area lay outside the Mughal empire during Akbar's rule. See also A. Cortesao in *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 10-14; cf. A.B.M. Habibullah, *ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

VII

ORISSA

Orissa is spelt *Oḍiṣā* in the language of the Oriyas. This name seems to be derived from an earlier form like *Audriya-vishaya* through forms like *Oḍḍi-visaa* and *Oḍi-visā*. The Tibetan author Tāranātha mentions the name as *Oḍi-visā*.¹ The tribal name Udra or Qdra lies at the root of all these forms. But Udra, Qdra or Audra cannot be regarded as the earliest name of Orissa.

Kalinga In ancient times a powerful people called the Kaliṅgas lived in the present Orissa region. In the third century B.C., the Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 369-332 B.C.) conquered the Kaliṅgas and annexed the Kaliṅga country to his empire.

Kalinga The province of Kaliṅga in the Maurya empire was divided into two administrative units. The north-eastern part of the country had its headquarters at Tosali (although the land around the city was later often called Tosala) which is the modern Dhau near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa. In a later age,

Aila vamsa kings of the Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana family of the Chedi clan, which is represented by Khāravela, described as 'the supreme lord of Kaliṅga', appear to have had their capital at the same place.

In Maurya times, South-Western Kaliṅga had its headquarters at the city of Samāpā near modern Jaugada in the Ganjam District. Indian literature intimately associates Kaliṅga with the Mahendra-giri now standing on the borders of the Ganjam District of

Srimat Orissa near those of the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. But there is no doubt that the Godāvarī or the Kṛṣṇā was often regarded as the south-western boundary of the Kaliṅga country.

This is indicated by the fact that, about the fifth century A.D., some rulers, enjoying the title Kaliṅgādhipati, not only had their capital at Piṣṭapura, modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, but sometimes even claimed lordship over

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 365-66.

the whole coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Mahānadi.¹ Actually however, the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country lay even beyond the Mahānadi, although Kaliṅga did not include the whole of modern Orissa. The north-eastern part of coastal Orissa was included in early times in the land of the Utkalās while the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper valley of the Mahānadi formed the eastern part of the country named Dakṣiṇa-Kosala till the early medieval period. But the Utkalās and some of their neighbours may have been ethnically related to the Kaliṅgas. Indeed, an ancient tradition recorded in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas² regards the progenitors of the Āṅgas of East Bihar, the Vaṅgas of South Bengal, the Kaliṅgas, the Pundras of North Bengal and the Suhmas of West Bengal as co-uterine brothers. Early European writers sometimes represent the people of South Bengal (Gangaridae) as a branch of the Kaliṅga people.³

We have seen how the river Kṛṣṇā was sometimes regarded as the south-western boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country. But in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Śālaṅkāyanas ruling over the coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari with their capital at the city of Veṅḡi (modern Peddavēḡi near Elūru in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) did not claim to be lords of Kaliṅga. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Viṣṇukundins were ruling over the same area. They also did not claim to be rulers of the Kaliṅga country. If the identification of the Andhr-ādhipati, mentioned in the Haraha inscription⁴ of the time of Maukhari Iśānavarman, dated V. S. 611 = 553-54 A.D., with a Viṣṇukundin monarch is accepted, the kingdom of the Viṣṇukundins was probably known as Andhra. During the second quarter of the seventh century, the Eastern Cālukyas established themselves at Pistapura (Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) and ruled over the entire coast country from the Visakhapatnam District in the north-east to the Guntur District

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 144.

2. *Mahābhārata*, I, 104, 53; *Bhāgavata*, IX, 23, 5; *Vāyu*, 99.

3. *Pliny, Hist. Nat.*, VI, 21 ff.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115. ff.

in the south-west for many centuries. But their kingdom became famous under the name of Veṅgī. During this period, the major portion of the Visakhapatnam District formed a part of Veṅgī, although the Yelamanchili Taluk of that District was called Elamañci-Kaliṅgadeśa. The Early Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling over the area about the Śrīkakulam District (Andhra Pradesh) with their capital at Kaliṅganagara, which has been identified with modern Mukhalīngam near Śrīkākulam, from the close of the fifth century A.D. They also enjoyed the title Kaliṅgā-ādhipati or lord of Kaliṅga. In the early medieval period, it is only the kingdom of these Early Eastern Gaṅgas that was exclusively known as Kaliṅga, because, as will be seen below, the kingdoms in the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region assumed different names such as Koṅgoda, Tosali, Udra, etc., since the latter part of the sixth century A.D. With the rise of the Imperial Branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and especially with the conquest of the coast land between the Godāvarī and the Ganges (Bhāgī-rathī) by the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century, the major part of ancient Kaliṅga came under the Kaliṅga king. But the old name did not get time enough to become popular again as the successors of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga soon transferred their capital to the Cuttack District (Orissa) far away from the Śrīkākulam region that had become famous under the name Kaliṅga during the many centuries' rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas.¹ The Eastern Gaṅgas originally lived in the present Kannāḍa-speaking area of Mysore, whence they migrated to and settled in the present Telugu-speaking area of Śrīkākulam. The Kannāḍa origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas is not only supported by the copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga and his successors² but also by the following statement in the description of Coḍagaṅga in the Mādalā Pāñji:³

1. The tradition recorded in Yaśodhara's commentary on the Kāma-sūtra (VI, 6), composed about the middle of the thirteenth century (cf. Kieft, Hist. Sans. Lit., p. 469), that Kaliṅga lay to the south of Gauda seems to be based on the Imperial Gaṅga occupation of parts of South-West Bengal.

2. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 239.

3. Ed. Mahanti, p. 23. The statement is however anachronistic.

Cudagaṅga Karṇāṭa-desaru āsi, etc. The mother tongue of the Imperial Gaṅgas was originally Telugu. This is clearly indicated not only by the great part Telugu plays even in their later documents but also by the popularity of names like *Aniyaṅkabhīma* which was later Sanskritised as *Anaṅgabhīma* through the intermediate form *Anaṅkabhīma*. After the transference of their capital to the heart of Orissa, the Imperial Gaṅgas began to become Oriyas; but most of their matrimonial alliances were still contracted with South Indian royal families and a large number of their officials and protégés were South Indians.

With reference to the geography of Kalinga, mention has to be made of the views of certain scholars based on the repeated reference to the country in the Ceylonese chronicles. Chapter 59 of the *Cūlavamsa* says how king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.) of Laṅkā married the Kalinga princess Trilokasundarī and offered befitting maintenances to her relations Madhukārṇava (Madhukāmārṇava?), Bhīmarāja and Balātkāra of Siṃhapura, capital of Kalinga, for settling them in his kingdom. The younger sister of the Kalinga princes, Sundarī by name, was given in marriage to Vijayabāhu's son Vikramabāhu. In this connection, Geiger observes, "Siṃhapura (Siṃhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. *Mhvs*, 6.35) was founded in Lāla (Rāḍha) by Vijaya's father Siḥabāhu. Lāla borders in the north of the Kalinga kingdom, the home of Tilokasundarī, as must be inferred from *Mhvs*, 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutea Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum."¹ It has however to be noticed that, in the age of Vijayabāhu (actually from about the end of the sixth to at least about the beginning of the twelfth century), the name Kalinga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara near Śrīkākulam, who styled themselves as Kaliṅg-ādhipatis. Siṃhapura (modern Singapuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the Kaliṅg-ādhipatis in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and was no longer the capital of Kalinga although it may have been the residence of some scions

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1. *Cūlavamsa*, trans., Part I, p. 211.

of the Gaṅga family. Rādha and Kaliṅga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any period of history. Śimhapura in Rādha (probably modern Singur in the Hooghly District of West Bengal) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kaliṅga capital of that name, identified with modern Siṅgupuram near Śrikākulam. The representation of Śimhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga in the Mahāvamsa tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century while the Cūlavamsa appears merely to have continued the same tradition even though the later capital of the country was at Kaliṅga-nagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrikākulam) and not at Śimhapura.

As regards the north-eastern limit of ancient Kaliṅga, a well-known passage in the Tirtha-yātrā section of the Vanaparvan (114, 3) of the Mahābhārata has esa Kaliṅgaḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitarani nadi. This shows that the river Vaitarani forming the eastern border of the Cuttack District of Orissa was regarded in ancient times as the boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa (IV, 38) speaks of the Utkala country lying between the land of the Kaliṅgas and that of the Vaṅgas. The eastern boundary of Utkala can be determined only when we know the exact area inhabited by the Vaṅga people.

Early Greco-Roman writers represent the emperors of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties of Magadha as the rulers of the Prasii and the Gangaridae and speak of Palibothra (i.e. Pāṭaliputra, near modern Pātnā, Bihar) as the capital of the country of the Prāsii. There is little doubt that the Prasii represented the Prācyas (i.e. the people of the Eastern Division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa) of Indian literature. But there is some confusion about the Gangaridae, their name being often Indianised as Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, Gaṅgā-rādha and Gaṅgā-hṛdaya. Greek Gangaridae is however the plural form of Gangarid from a base like Gange or Ganges; cf. Sasan—Sasanid—Sasanidae; Akhamenes—Akhamenid—Akhamenidae. The word Gangaridae therefore means 'the Gangetic people'. The land inhabited by this people is clearly indicated by the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (circa 80 A.D.) and the Geography of Ptolemy (circa 140 A.D.).

Ptolemy¹ mentions the five estuaries of the river Ganges and says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (i.e. the capital of the country)." It is clear from this that the Gangaridae or Gangetic people received their name from there chief city called Gange, apparently named after the river Ganges. The *Periplus* (para. 63) however applies the name Ganges not only to the river and a city standing on the bank of its principal mouth but also to the country, of which the city was apparently the capital. This book says about the country called Ganges that 'there is a river near it called the Ganges' and that 'on its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges'. The principal product of this country is stated to have been the Gangetic muslin which reminds us not only of the world-wide celebrity of the Dacca muslin in the medieval age but also of the dukūla (kauśika) patrōṇa and prāvāra mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* as presents made to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Tāmalīptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India.² But a people called Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting Lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek *Gange* or *Ganges*) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A. D., were apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates the Vaṅga people, well-known in ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangetic people are placed by the early European writers. Canto IV (verses 36-37) of his *Raghuvaṃśa* describes how Raghu defeated the Vaṅgas in a naval battle and raised pillars of victory in what is called Gaṅgā-sroto-ntara no doubt in the land of the defeated people. The expression Gaṅgā-sroto-ntaresu has been explained by the celebrated commentator Mallinātha as Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasām pravāhānām=antareṣu (dvīpeṣu).³ Thus the country of the Vaṅgas is located by Kālidāsa in the

1. *Geog.*, VII, I. 18 and 81.

2. See Motichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud. Mahābh.*, pp. 112-113.

3. See above, p. 124, note 6; below, Ch. XI (p. 172 ff.).

deltaic region of Southern Bengal, which is intersected by the mouths of the river Ganges. This further proves that the Vaṅga people were identical with the Gangaridae who, according to the Greco-Roman writers, lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city about the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal. The modern representative of this ancient city seems to be the holy place at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara, called (Sāgara or Gaṅgā-sāgara). The name *Gaṅgā*, suggested by the early Greco-Roman writers, may be regarded as an *eka-deśa* of the name *Gaṅgā-sāgara*.¹ The name *Vaṅga*, originally applied to the wide areas of Southern Bengal, came in the medieval age to be confined to the eastern parts of that region together with the adjoining areas. But later the name came to be used to indicate the whole of Bengal.

The above discussion will show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the *Vaṅgas* lived in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal watered by the mouths of the Ganges and had their capital at the city of *Gaṅgā* near the junction of the *Bhāgī-rathī* and the Bay of Bengal and that *Gaṅgā-sāgar* is the modern representative of the ancient capital of the *Vaṅgas*. After the name of the capital, the country was also often called *Gaṅgā*. Early European writers mention the *Vaṅgas* as the *Gaṅgaridae*, i.e. the *Gāṅga* or *Gāṅgeya* people. The Greek name of the *Vaṅgas* seems to be the result of a confusion the foreigners made between the sounds of the two names *Vaṅgāḥ* and *Gaṅgā*. The identification of the *Vaṅgas* and the *Gangaridae* and the location of their habitat are clearly indicated by the evidence supplied by *Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa*, the *Geography* of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Ptolemy and *Kālidāsa* place the *Cambyson* or *Kapiśā* river, identified with the present *Kaśāi* running through the Midnapur District (West Bengal), about the western border of the country of the *Gangaridae* or *Vaṅga* people. This is supported by the Jain *Prajñāpanā*, according to which *Tāmralipti* in the present *Tamluk* region of Midnapur once formed a part of the *Vaṅga* country.²

1. See *Proc. I.H.C.*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 91 ff., and below, Ch. XI, (p. 172 ff.).

2. *Raychaudhuri, Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 186.

It appears therefore that the Cambyson or Kapiśā, *i.e.*, the modern Kaśāi, roughly formed the boundary between the land of the Vaṅgas and that of the Utkalas. Thus it may be said that the Utkala country lay between the Kaśāi and the Vaitara- 3420
nī rivers. Roughly speaking therefore, Utkala comprised the present Balasore District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack District of that State and of the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Puri, Ganjam and Cuttack Districts of Orissa then formed parts of the north-eastern area of the Kalinga country.

A copper-plate inscription¹ was discovered at Sumandala near Khallikot in the Ganjam District. It records the grant of a piece of land in the Khallikot area by a chief named Dharma-rāja in 569 A.D. The said chief acknowledged the suzerainty of a king named Prthivivigraha who is stated to have been ruling the Kalinga *rāṣṭra* as a nominal feudatory of the Gupta emperors. This inscription shows beyond doubt that the south-western part of coastal Orissa enjoyed the ancient name of Kalinga as late as the second half of the sixth century A.D. Soon however the name of the kingdom of the Vigraha dynasty, to which Prthivivigraha belonged, had to be changed.

Another copper-plate inscription² of the Vigraha dynasty has been discovered in a locality in the Puri District. The inscription records the gift of a village situated in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali in 599 A.D. by an independent monarch named Lokavigraha who was apparently one of the successors of Prthivivigraha of the Sumandala plates. By this time, all vestiges of Gupta suzerainty in Orissa were a thing of the past. But what is more important is that Lokavigraha's kingdom has been mentioned in the epigraph as Tosali and not as Kalinga while he is represented as granting a village in South Tosali. This shows that Lokavigraha was not only holding sway over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali but that he also claimed the lordship of Uttara-Tosali, *i. e.* North Tosali. The inscriptions of the Bhauṃa-Karas of a later age make it clear that the ancient Utkala country in the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 328 ff.

Balasore region was roughly known as Uttara-Tosali while Dakṣiṇa-Tosali comprised the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. We have to determine the reason leading to the introduction of these names about the second half of the sixth century. This however does not appear to be entirely unintelligible from what we know of the history of Orissa in the period in question.

As already indicated above, shortly before 500 A.D. the Gaṅgas founded a kingdom about the present Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. They assumed the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati*, 'lord of Kaliṅga', and had their capital at the city of Kaliṅganagara situated in the vicinity of modern Śrīkākulam. The Vīgrahas were holding sway over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area lying immediately to the north-east of the Gaṅga kingdom. Naturally they wanted a new name for their own kingdom to avoid confusion. The new name of their kingdom, viz., Tosali, seems to have been coined after the name of their capital city. That is to say, the Vīgrahas probably had their capital at the ancient city of Tosali i. e. the modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The name Tosali was also extended to the ancient Utkala country probably due to the expansion of Vīgraha power over that area. These facts appear to supply the reason underlying the renaming of the south-western part of coastal Orissa as Dakṣiṇa-Tosali and the application of the alternative name Uttara-Tosali to the country of the Utkalas. The names Uttara-Tosali and Dakṣiṇa-Tosali were popular in the age of the Bhaumakaras who flourished between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Later however the name Tosali lost its popularity and the names Utkala and Uḍra, Oḍra or Auḍra gradually came to be applied to the whole of coastal Orissa and ultimately to the entire Oriya-speaking area.

We have seen how the Utkalas lived in the present Balasore District and its neighbourhood. But the original habitat of the Uḍras cannot be determined. They are not mentioned in very early works. Some manuscripts of the *Manusmṛiti* (about the third century A.D.; cf. X, 44) no doubt mention the Uḍras; but many manuscripts of the work read in its place the name of

the Āṅgas or Cholas,¹ and either of these two may have been the original reading. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharata-muni mentions the people or land called Uḍra; but the work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the sixth century A.D.² Whatever the antiquity of the name Udra may be, it is sometimes used to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Probably the Udras originally lived in the land lying to the north of the ancient Utkala country. The conquest of Utkala by a king of the Udra country may have led to the use of Udra as a synonym of Utkala and the extension of the power of a king of this Udra-Utkala region over the southwestern part of coastal Orissa at a later date may have been at the root of the use of both the names to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa. The known facts of early Orissan history appear to support this conjecture.

According to a copper-plate inscription³ discovered at Soro in the Balasore District, in 579 A.D. Uttara-Tosali, i.e. ancient Utkala, was under the rule of a *Mahārāja* named Śambhuyaśas, who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgalya gotra. Another inscription⁴ of the same monarch, viz. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śambhuyaśas, which was found at Patiakella in the Cuttack District, says that in 602 A.D. his feudatory, *Mahārāja* Śivarāja, was ruling in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali. This record suggests further that the king Śambhuyaśas, ruler of both Uttara° and Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, i.e. the entire coastal region of Orissa, was born in the Māna family. The name of the present Mānbhūm or Mānabhūmi seems to have been derived from the rulers of this Māna family, also known from a few other records. The Bhauma-Kara monarch Śāntikara II (middle of the tenth century) is known to have married Hīrāmahādevī who was the daughter of king Siṃhamāna probably belonging to the same family as Śambhuyaśas. The Mānas

1. Jha, *Mansumṛiti—Notes*, Part I, p. 465.

2. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV), composed about the first quarter of the 6th century, mentions the Udra people.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201 f.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.

appear to have been ruling over the present Mānbhūm-Singbhūm region together with the adjacent areas of Orissa.¹

We have seen how in 569 A.D. Pṛthivivigraha was ruling over Kalinga, *i. e.* the north-eastern areas of Kalinga roughly identical with the later Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, and how in 599 A.D. Lokavigraha, another monarch of the same family, not only ruled over South Tosali but also claimed lordship over North Tosali. It has also been shown how Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śāmbhuyāśas belonging to the Mudgala gotra and the Māna family ruled over Uttara-Tosali in 579 A. D. and over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali in 602 A.D. It is clear from these facts that in the latter half of the sixth century there was a struggle between the Vigrahas and the Mānas for the sovereignty of coastal Orissa and that the Vigrahas, who were at first ruling over the whole of Tosali, both Uttara and Dakṣiṇa, were gradually ousted by the Mānas, first from Uttara-Tosali and then from Dakṣiṇa-Tosali. In this way, the whole of coastal Orissa came under the suzerainty of the Mānas about the beginning of the seventh century. If these Mānas may be regarded as belonging to the Uḍra clan, we can explain the popularity of the name Uḍra in the sense of the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth or seventh century. The fact that they conquered Utkala or Uttara-Tosali sometime before the expansion of their power over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali may be the reason underlying the use of Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala first in the sense of the Balasore region and then to indicate of the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam area. If the Māna family belonged to the Uḍra clan, it may be supposed

1. It is not impossible that they had their capital at the city of Khijūṅga, modern Khiching in the northern part of the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa (cf. *Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. VIII, 1958, pp. 429-30). R.P. Chanda was inclined to assign the earliest antiquities discovered at Khiching to the age of the Ādi-Bhaṇjas who began to rule from about the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. J. N. Banerjea assigns some of these sculptures to the tenth century and others vaguely to the early medieval period. There is little doubt that some that Khiching was the seat of some pre-Ādi-Bhaṇja rulers, since the excellent art of Khiching could have scarcely flourished without royal patronage. We have now inscriptions of the pre-Ādi-Bhaṇja rulers, Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarmān, who ruled in the area in the tenth century A. D. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 82 ff.

that the Uḍras originally lived in the Mānbhūm-Singhbhūm region and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the greatest monarch in Eastern India was Śaśāṅka, king of (Gauḍa) who had his capital at Karnaśuvārṇa, near modern Murshidabad in West Bengal. He ousted Māna rule from Orissa and extended his suzerainty as far as (Koṅgoda) about the borders between the Districts of Puri and Ganjam. In the second quarter of the seventh century, the king of Gauḍa, probably a successor of Śaśāṅka, was disastrously defeated by Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and his ally, Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. As a result of this humiliation of the Gauḍa king, his (Śailodbhava) feudatories in Koṅgoda declared their independence while his (Datta) feudatories in the Balasore-Cuttack region began to rule semi-independently. Some inscriptions of Somadatta and Bhānudatta of this Datta dynasty have been discovered. It seems that the dominions of these (Dattas) have been described as Uḍra by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited Orissa about 638 A.D. His accounts appear to suggest that the pilgrim applied the name (Uḍra) to the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region. King Harṣavardhana, who now probably regarded the Gauḍa king as his subordinate ally, invaded Koṅgoda in 643 A. D. in order to punish the (Śailodbhavas) on behalf of the Gauḍa monarch.

During the eighth century A.D., the Śailodbhavas continued their independent rule in Koṅgoda in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the political condition of the Balasore-Cuttack area in this age is not quite clear. According to Chinese evidence, a Buddhist king having a name like Śubhaṅkarasiṁha ruled over the Uḍra country in 795 A.D. He seems to have been a contemporary of the Later Śailodbhavas of the Ganjam-Puri area and ruled over the Cuttack-Balasore region. In 831 A.D., the Bhauma-Karas established their capital at the ancient city of Virajā which is the modern Jājpur (Yāyapura or Yājapura). They founded a new city called Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka in the suburbs of Jājpur and this remained the Bhauma-Kara capital till the end of Bhauma-Kara rule in the eleventh century. It

was apparently the Bhauma-Karas who overthrew Sailodbhava rule from Kōṅgoda which now formed a part of Dakṣiṇa-Tosali.

The Somavamśis established their power in the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper Mahānadī valley in the tenth century. The Somavamśi king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (circa 935-70 A.D.) issued most of his charters from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur). His son and successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.D.) transferred his capital to the new city of Yayātinagara (modern Binka) built by and named after himself. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, the Somavamśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Caṇḍihara (circa 1025-60 A.D.) extended his power over the coastal regions of Orissa. The story of the transference of the lordship of that region from the Bhauma-Karas to the Somavamśis is not clearly known.¹ But there is little doubt that Yayāti III built a city, named Yayātinagara after himself, in the erstwhile Bhauma-Kara kingdom. This city is mentioned in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* as Abhinava-Yayātinagara (i.e. the new Yayātinagara) in its description of the Gaṅga kings who conquered coastal Orissa from the Somavamśis but had originally little to do with the upper valley of the Mahānadī. The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhiṃsa III seems to be described in this work² as *Abhinava-Yayātinagara-Viṣṇu*. The Muslim authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned the Gaṅga kingdom as Jājnagar (no doubt a corruption of the name *Yayātinagara*) apparently after the Abhinava-Yayātinagara of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, which seems to have continued to remain the capital of coastal Orissa under the Gaṅgas for some time.

About the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) of Kaliṅga-nagara conquered the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region from the Somavamśis. There is evidence to show that his descendants later transferred the Gaṅga capital to Cuttack. According to the Nagari plates³ of Anaṅgabhiṃsa III (circa 1211-38 A.D.), great-grandson of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, that king had

1. See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 209-10.

2. Ed. Mahanti, p. 28.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

his headquarters at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, i.e. the present Barabati area of Cuttack. The *Mādalā Pāñjī* seems to suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III at first had been residing at Chaudvāra-kaṭaka and later transferred his capital to Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka built by himself on the site of the village of Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahānadī. As the *Mādalā Pāñjī* uses the name Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the description of this king, it may be supposed that it was the earlier name of Cuttack, which was therefore the source of the name Jājnagar used by the Muslim writers of the early medieval period to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom covering coastal Orissa. But it seems to us that Abhinava-Yayātinagara or Jājnagar should better be identified with modern Jājpur. This is because Jājpur seems to be a corruption of the name Yayātipura which is again practically the same as Yayātinagara, both meaning 'the city of Yayāti'. That Jājpur was once the headquarters of the Imperial Gaṅgas seems to be supported by the following tradition in the description of Anaṅgabhīma in some manuscripts of the *Mādalā Pāñjī* : *rājā Yājāpuranagara chaudvāre Kaṭake vije kari thānti*.¹ In the description of the occupation of the Kesarī (i.e. Somavaṁśī) kingdom by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga also we have the passage : *Yājāpura Kaṭake praveśa hoilā*.²

We have seen that the Bhauma-Kara emperors had their capital at Virajā, i.e. the modern Jājpur, in the suburbs of which they built their new capital named Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka. In the rule of coastal Orissa, these Bhauma-Karas were succeeded by the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Caṇḍihara. It is possible to think that Yayāti III retained the headquarters of this newly acquired territory at its old capital and that it was he who renamed Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka after himself as Yayātinagara or Yayātipura. The very name of modern Jājpur (*Yayātipura > Yayāipura > Yāyāipura > Yāyīpura > Jājpur*) appears to support this conjecture. It seems that the capital of coastal Orissa was retained at the same city for

1. Mahanti; *op. cit.*, p. 34.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

some time even after the overthrow of Somavamśi rule from that area by the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara. If the Gaṅga conquerors of coastal Orissa ruled the country from Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, i.e. modern Jājpur, before the transference of its headquarters to the Cuttack region, we can easily explain why the Muslim writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned the kingdom of the Gaṅgas in Orissa as Jājnagar (Yayātinagara).

About 1360 A.D., during the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (circa 1352-78 A.D.), Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of the Tughluk dynasty of Delhi led an expedition against the Gaṅga capital. An account of this expedition is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf. In this work, the kingdom of the Gaṅga monarch has been called Jājnagar but his capital has been mentioned as Vārāṇasī, i.e. Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka which is the present Barabati area of Cuttack.¹ It seems that, if the earlier name of Cuttack was Yayātinagara and if that was the reason for the early Muslim writers applying the name Jājnagar to the Gaṅga kingdom, Shams-i-Sirāj would not have used two different names to indicate the capital and kingdom of the Gaṅga king without any comment. Indeed it becomes rather difficult in that case to understand why he uses the new name for the city but its old name to indicate the kingdom of which it was the capital. The description of the Gaṅga capital and kingdom in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* seems to suggest that Jājnagar as the name of the Gaṅga kingdom had nothing to do with Vārāṇasī or Cuttack which was then its capital.

Muslim rule was established in the western and northern parts of Bengal about the beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time, the Muslim rulers of Bengal often led expeditions against the Gaṅga kingdom. This may have been the cause underlying the transference of the Gaṅga capital from Jājnagar or Jājpur, which was nearer the borders of the Muslim territories of Bengal, to Cuttack which lay further away. But the Muslim writers appear to have

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 247-48.

continued the use of the name Jājñagar to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom for some time even after the transference of the Gaṅga headquarters from the city of that name. The name Kataka or Cuttack suggests that it was originally a camping ground of the Gaṅga king's forces. It is not impossible that the story of the Gaṅga king's attempt to check Muslim aggression from the east is hidden under this name of the new capital of his kingdom.¹

1. At p. 145 above, we have referred to a king of Wu-ch'a (Udra) whom the Chinese called 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol XV, p. 363). A king of Orissa named Subhakarasiṃha, who became a Buddhist monk, is said to have left India in 715 A. D. and reached China the following year when he was eighty years of age (A. Getty, Ganēśa, pp. 73-74).

andha-parampara nyaya

VIII

DAŚĀRṆA, AŚMAKA AND KUNTALA

A

Our attention has been drawn to a verse contained in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, which refers to a pious lady named Vasundharā who was the daughter of a certain Vikrama and was an inhabitant of Daśārṇa.¹ In this connection, several suggestions have been offered; but none of them is supported by any evidence or argument of any kind. Vikrama has been identified with Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Vasundharā with Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Candragupta II and queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II. We wonder why the daughter of any person of the name of Vikrama has to be identified with the only known daughter of only one of the numerous (Vikramas) known to history.

The suggestion that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Daśārṇa which is identified with the Chattisgarh division of M.P. as well as the reference to 'Vijaya-Daśanapura in the Andhra country mentioned in some inscriptions as the capital of a Vākāṭaka principality' in Jayaswal's *History of India*, p. 136, is also untenable. Here is a clear case of the andha-parampara-nyāya, as Daśanapura, mentioned as a seat of government of the Early Pallavas (who, it should be noted, ruled contemporaneously with the Vākāṭakas) and identified by scholars with modern Darsi in the Nellore District, had absolutely nothing to do with the Vākāṭakas. As a matter of fact, there is not the slightest evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chattisgarh region of M. P., the ancient name of which was, moreover, Kosala (South Kosala) and never Daśārṇa. From numerous references to Daśārṇa in Indian literature,² it is clear that it was one of the old names of East Malwa and the adjoining region, with its capi-

1. See D. B. Diskalkar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, 1944, pp. 367-68.

2. Cf., e.g., *Meghadūta*, 24-25.

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at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa, Madhya Pradesh) and with the rivers Daśārṇā (modern Dhasan) and Vetravati (modern Betwa) running through it.

In this connection, the attention of scholars may be drawn to another almost equally unjustifiable theory that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Kuntala.¹ It is easy to show that the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom corresponded to the ancient *janapada* of Vidarbha (modern Berar and the adjoining regions) where most of the records of the family have been discovered. The founder of the Vākāṭaka family seems to have had something to do with East Malwa and the Vindhyan region and a few other early members of the main branch of the family probably held sway over parts of Central India (especially Bundelkhand) before the extension of Gupta power in that area.² But the capital of a branch of the Vākāṭaka line was at the city of Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola District, while the main branch of the family ruled from a place not very far away from modern Nāgpur.³ The Vākāṭaka kings reigned in Vidarbha from the second half of the third century to the first half of the sixth. They were not only responsible for some of the magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā; but it was apparently at their court that the celebrated Vaidarbhī *rīti* or the Berar style of Sanskrit composition originated and flourished and was recognised by the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* as the best style as early as the seventh century A.D. We have elsewhere suggested that the other important style known as the *Gauḍī rīti* has to be associated with the court of the dynasty of Gauḍa kings represented by Gopacandra and Śaśāṅka.⁴

In connection with the name Daśārṇa, it is interesting to note that the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*⁵ places 'the region of Dosarene yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic' towards the east of Masalia (i.e. the country around Masulipatam in Andhra).

1. Cf. *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 253, note.
2. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 217.
3. See *The Classical Age*, pp. 181-82, 185.
4. Cf. above, pp. 115 ff. For the *Uḍiṇya*, *Pratiṇya*, *Dākṣiṇāṭya* and *Gauḍa* styles of composition, see also Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, I, 7.
5. See Schoff's trans., p. 47.

Dasara
Tosali
Ptolemy mentions the city of Dosara¹ apparently as the metropolis of this land. He locates Dosara in the land of the Kokkonagai, who lived to the west of the country watered by the mouths of the Ganges. Some scholars trace the Indian name (Daśārṇa in Dosarene.² But it is impossible to locate the places mentioned by the Greek authors outside modern Orissa. It seems that Dosara is a modification of the Indian name Tosala (the same as Tosalī or Tosalā), identified with modern Dhau in the Puri District. The early times, Tosalī was the capital of the Kaliṅga country.

B

A Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler named Mānāṅka (who seems to have originally been a *rāṣṭrakūṭa* or provincial governor) is known from the Undikavatika grant⁵ of his great-grandson Abhimanyu who resided at Mānapura. He has been identified with king Mānāṅka, grandfather of Avidheya who issued the Pandurangapalli grant discovered in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur. There is reason to believe that the territories over which these rulers held sway lay in the Kolhapur region and the adjoining area of the South Marāṭhā country, and Prof. Mirashi may be right in identifying their capital with Man in the Satara District. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bibhurāja of the Hingniberdi plates, Dejjā-mahārāja of the Gokak plates, (Govindarāja), son of (Śivarāja), who is known from the Naravana grant of 743 A. D. of the time of Vikramāditya II and seems to have been the subordinate ruler of a territory in the Satara-Ratnagiri region, may have been scions of this family.⁴ The land ruled by this family seems to have been known as 'Māna's territory.'⁵

The Pandurangapalli charter⁶ appears to describe Mānāṅka,

1. *Geography*, VIII, 1, 77.
2. Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVI, p. 266; Schoff, *The Periplus*, trans., p. 253.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 165 f.
4. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.; *The Classical Age*, p. 199. Śivarāja's son Govindarāja is described as the grandson of Nannappa in the Salem plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 145 ff.).
5. See below, p. 159.
6. Cf. *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

who probably flourished in the latter half of the fifth century, as the conqueror of Vidarbha and Aśmaka and also as the chastiser (*praśāsītā*) of the Kuntalas. The Kuntala people under reference were no doubt the Kadambas of Vanavāsi (Banavāsi), whose territories comprised the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dharwar. In the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas, the progenitor of the Kadamba family (sometimes called Mayūravarma, but in some cases Mukkana or Trilocana Kadamba) is represented as the ruler of the Kuntala country which is described as the land round the capital city of Banavāsi in the North Kanara District. The country of Vidarbha lay on both sides of the river Varadā (modern Wardha, a tributary of the Godāvari) according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and roughly corresponded to the major part of Berar and the western part of M. P. Its ancient capital was at the city of Kundina which has been identified with modern Kaundinyapura on the Wardha in the Chandur Taluk of the Amraoti District of Berar. The city of Padmapura which was the birth-place of the poet Bhavabhūti and was situated in the Vidarbha country in Dakṣiṇāpatha, has been rightly identified with modern Padampur near the Amgaon railway station in the Bhandara District of M. P. Vidarbha therefore included at least the Amraoti region in the west and the Bhandara area in the east. Epigraphic evidence shows that, about the time of Mānāṅka, the above land was entirely in the possession of kings belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family that had its headquarters near modern Nāgpur. Thus it will be seen that the Pandurangapalli grant seems to represent Mānāṅka of the south Marāṭhā country as having fought successfully with the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha.

But who were the Aśmakas, also mentioned in connection with the victorious campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler? It appears to us that the Aśmakas under reference are no other than the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma which is mentioned separately from Vidarbha in the *Kāmasūtra* (V, 5, 33-34). The capital city of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family has been identified with modern Basim in the Akola District about the southern fringe of Berar ;

विदर्भ
वत्सगुल्म
कामसूत्रम्
कव्यमिन्द्र
III. chap. 27

but their dominions certainly included the Ajanta region in the Aurangabad District and very probably also Nāndikāṭa, identified with the Nander District, both in the northern part of the old Hyderabad State. The Vākātakas of Vatsagulma therefore ruled over the southernmost region of Berar and the northern part of old Hyderabad, and the ancient Aśmaka country has been located by scholars precisely in this region.¹

route
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The *Pārāyaṇa*, incorporated in the *Suttanipāṭa*, speaks of a sage named Bāvari who was an inhabitant of Śrāvastī but settled 'in the country of Aśmaka, in the vicinity of Mūlaka, on the bank of the Godāvarī'.² While describing the journey of Bāvari's disciples from the sage's hermitage in Aśmaka to a locality in Northern India, the same work says that the first place reached was Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District) which was the capital of the Mūlaka country; the men are said to have next reached Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, and then Ujjayinī outside the limits of Dakṣiṇāpatha. This shows that the Aśmaka country lay immediately to the south of Mūlaka which is the Paithan region of the Aurangabad District. The ancient capital of the Aśmaka country was, according to the *Mahābhārata*, at the city of Paudanya which is known as *Potana* (< *Podanna* < *Paudanya*) in the Pali literature. A variant of the form *Potana* is *Potali* which seems to be a mistake for *Potana* or *Potani* (cf. the striking similarity between the forms of the two letters *l* and *n* at some stages of development), the latter being a possible corruption of *Paudanya* through another intermediate form *Podaniya*.³ Raychaudhuri identifies Paudanya with modern Bodhan near the Godāvarī in the Nizamabad District abutting on the Nander District in the old Hyderabad State. In a narrow sense therefore the Aśmaka country may be identified with the Nander-Nizamabad region of Andhra Pradesh and the adjoining area. In ancient

1. Cf. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 76, 21-22; *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 88; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, iii, p. 1 ff.

2. See the Chapter on Gōrarda (Ch. XVI) below, pp. 206 ff.

3. Cf. *śākya* > *śākiya* > *śāki*; *mūlya* > *mulīya* > *mulī*; *ārogya* > *ārōgyia* > *arōgi*, etc. in my *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 23.

literature, however, Aśmaka is often represented as including Mūlaka, i.e. the Paithan area of the Aurangabad District, and as abutting on Kaliṅga (roughly speaking, the coastal land between the Mahānadī and the Godāvārī), Vidarbha, Aparānta (the Northern Konkan) and Avanti, doubtless the celebrated Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha with its capital at Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, identified with Mandhata in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the former Indore State. This wider sense must have been in the mind of Bhaṭṭasvāmin when he identified Aśmaka with Mahārāṣṭra, i.e. the Marāṭhā country. But the heart of this land appears to have been the northern districts of old Hyderabad including naturally the southernmost region of Berar. The heart of the ancient Aśmaka country thus seems to have corresponded to the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka therefore claimed victory not only over the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha, but also over the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Aśmaka.

C

There have been some comments¹ on our views regarding the identification of the Kuntala and Aśmaka countries.² An attempt has been made to prove that 'Kuntala in ancient times did not comprise only the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaon and Dharwar Districts as stated by Dr. Sircar but that it extended much further to the north so as to include what we now call the Southern Marāṭhā Country.' Unfortunately it has not been noticed that practically the same view has been expressed by many other writers including Fleet³ and ourselves.⁴ The fact is that where other scholars would locate, according to evidence, the Kuntala country proper in the heart of the Kanarese area and distinguish between that land and the later empire (often called Kuntala) of the imperial Kuntala or Karṇāṭa (i.e. Kanarese) dynasties, our critic would place Kuntala proper

1. See V. V. Mirashi in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 309-15.

2. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 233 ff.

3. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 431.

4. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 215. Cf. below, p. 192 and note 1.

in the Marāṭhā country and would not distinguish the essential Kuntala country from the gigantic Kuntala or Kanarese empire of later times. If, in the days of Warren Hastings, the Banaras District formed a part of Bengal, would it justify any one to identify Bengal with Banāras or to locate Bengal in Banāras? The name Vaṅgāla (Bengal) originally indicated a small district in Southern Bengal; it was later used to signify the whole country comprising such ancient lands as Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Suhma, Tāmralipta, Gauḍa and Puṇḍravardhana. Can we locate the ancient Vaṅgāla country in any part of later Vaṅgāla (Bengal) It will be clear we like ?

Most of the questions raised in this connection were already answered in our *Successors of the Sātavāhanas* referred to above. from the following quotations from that work :

“Cf. a record of A.D. 1077..... : ‘In the centre of that middle world is the golden mountain to the south of which is the Bhārata land in which, like the curls of the lady earth, shines the Kuntala country to which an ornament.....is Banavāsi.’ Some other inscriptions also prove that Kuntala was the district round Banavāsi.”¹

“Kuntala and Karṇāṭa are used as synonymous in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* by Bilhana.² Vikramāditya VI has been called both *Kuntalendu* (or, *Kuntalendra*) and *Karṇāṭendu*..... *Vaijayantī*, identified with Banavāsi, has been described as a *tilaka* (that is to say, the capital) of the Karṇāṭa country in the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman.....Karṇāṭa therefore signified the same territory as Kuntala or the country of which Kuntala formed a part..... The separate mention of Kuntala, Karṇāṭa

1. The tradition about Banavāsi having been the capital of the Kuntala country was remembered even after the foundation of the Kuntala-Karṇāṭa (Kanarese) empire. For a tenth century record mentioning the Kuntala king residing at *Vanavāsa*, indicating the city as well as ‘exile’, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p.132. It has to be remembered that, in the age in question, the capital of the said empire was at Mālkheḍ in the old Hyderabad State.

2. Note that the Cālukyas of Badami (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p.88, etc.) and Kalyāṇa (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p.16, etc.) were regarded as kings of Kuntala, while the Cālukya army was called the *Karṇāṭaka bala* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 112, etc.). In Cola records like the Kanyākumārī inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p.27; vv. 69, 76), the Cālukya enemies of Rājendra I are mentioned as lords of the Kuntalas, while the inscriptions of Virarājendra mention them as kings of the Karṇāṭa family.

1841
1842
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